

**Cornell University Library**  
**Ithaca, New York**

---

FROM

*C. E. Chapman.*

---

---

Chapman, C. E.

Papers on Pacific Coast

The date shows when this volume was taken.

To renew this book copy the call No. and give to the librarian.

## HOME USE RULES

All Books subject to recall

All borrowers must register in the library to borrow books for home use.

All books must be returned at end of college year for inspection and repairs.

Limited books must be returned within the four week limit and not renewed.

Students must return all books before leaving town. Officers should arrange for the return of books wanted during their absence from town.

Volumes of periodicals and of pamphlets are held in the library as much as possible. For special purposes they are given out for a limited time.

Borrowers should not use their library privileges for the benefit of other persons.

Books of special value and gift books, when the giver wishes it, are not allowed to circulate.

Readers are asked to report all cases of books marked or mutilated.

Do not deface books by marks and writing.

Cornell University Library

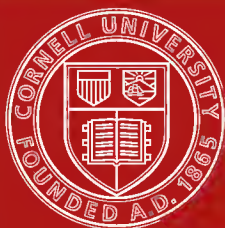
F 851 C46

Researches in Spain; containing the intr



3 1924 028 918 237

olin



Cornell University  
Library

The original of this book is in  
the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in  
the United States on the use of the text.

## Contents.

1. Chapman. Researches in Spain, catalogue of materials in Archivo General de Indias for history of Pacific Coast and American Southwest.  
1918.
2. ——— Difficulties of maintaining the Department of San Blas,  
1775-1777. 1916.
3. Duran. Diary; expedition of Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers in 1817., edited by C. E. Chapman. 1911.
4. Chapman. Founding of San Francisco.  
1917.
5. ——— Founding of the Hispanic American Historical Review.  
1918.



6. Chapman. American congress of  
bibliography and history at  
Buenos Aires. 1916.  
not catalog





# RESEARCHES IN SPAIN

CONTAINING THE INTRODUCTION TO THE

CATALOGUE OF MATERIALS IN THE ARCHIVO  
GENERAL DE INDIAS FOR THE HISTORY  
OF THE PACIFIC COAST AND THE  
AMERICAN SOUTHWEST

BY

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

COMPLIMENTS OF  
CHARLES E. CHAPMAN

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS  
BERKELEY

1918



# RESEARCHES IN SPAIN

CONTAINING THE INTRODUCTION TO THE

## CATALOGUE OF MATERIALS IN THE ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE PACIFIC COAST AND THE AMERICAN SOUTHWEST

BY

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS  
BERKELEY

1918

PRESS OF  
THE NEW ERA PRINTING COMPANY  
LANCASTER, PA.

## I. THE ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS

A. *The wealth of the great archive at Seville.*—In the words of a Spanish writer, “The history of [Spanish] America, so far as the documents are concerned, is preserved almost completely in Spain. The successive amputations of her American dominions which the mother country suffered have gone on increasing the wealth in documents, for, as her rule has come to an end, she has transported a great part of their archives . . . The most essential parts of these documents are contained in the Archivo [General] de Indias of Seville.”<sup>1</sup>

While some may take exception to the above statement, on the ground that it is too sweeping, it is beyond question that the great Sevillian archive is practically inexhaustible in its wealth of materials on almost every conceivable subject in Spanish colonial administration and is the most valuable single archive on that field in existence. This is so in increasing measure, for laws have been passed and are gradually being executed for the transfer of materials relating to Spain's former colonies from their present repositories in Simancas and Madrid to the archive at Seville. It is true that vast quantities of rich materials have been found in the archives of Spanish American countries,<sup>2</sup> and that they often contain local details of which no account was sent to Spain, but a single great repository, dealing with all of the former colonies, has a decided advantage as against the numerous, scattered archives of the Americas. Many colonial archives have indeed but scant remains of the wealth they once possessed, as a result of the removal of papers to Spain,<sup>3</sup> or due to the yet greater disintegrating forces of foreign war, revolution, and lack of care.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Torres Lanzas in *El Archivo de Indias*, p. xv. For a description of this work, see *infra* in Section D.

<sup>2</sup> See especially Bolton, Herbert E., *Guide to materials for the history of the United States in the principal archives of Mexico*, Washington, 1913; also Pérez, Luis M., *Guide to the materials for American history in Cuban archives*, Washington, 1907. See also Chapman, Charles E., *South America as a field for an historical survey, in A Californian in South America* (ed. by Dr. Herbert I. Priestley. Berkeley, 1917), pp. 41–50.

<sup>3</sup> For example, in the case of Cuba.

<sup>4</sup> For example, in the case of Peru.

Even in the case of those American countries whose archives retain an unusual degree of completeness,<sup>5</sup> the meagre local materials will usually be present in Spain, as well as in the land of origination, owing to the incessant and systematic accumulation of minute detail, for action by the authorities in Spain.<sup>6</sup>

The value of the materials in Seville, as compared with those of other archives, may be illustrated by tracing the documentation of a given case. It may be supposed that Lacy, the Spanish minister to Russia, reports to Grimaldi, the Spanish minister of state, that the Russians are preparing to make conquests in the Californias. Grimaldi, in turn, informs Arriaga, the *ministro general de Indias*, and the latter asks the viceroy, Bucarely, to strengthen the defences of Alta California. Bucarely orders Governor Rivera of Alta California to report on the state of the presidios in his province. In due time, Rivera writes to the various presidial commanders, and receives their replies, after which he communicates the result to Bucarely. Bucarely writes to Arriaga, who asks Gálvez, as one familiar with Alta California affairs, his opinion about the Rivera report. Gálvez replies, and Arriaga then sends the whole file to the Council of the Indies, with a request for its action. Finally, the Council informs Arriaga of what it has done. In such a case, a great many other documents would in fact be included in the *expediente*, but the above are sufficient for purposes of illustration. The following would be the usual documentary result in the archives of Salinas (the county seat of Monterey County, California), Mexico City, and Seville.<sup>7</sup>

	Salinas	Mexico	Seville
1. Lacy to Grimaldi . . . . .	—	C.	C. of Or.
2. Grimaldi to Arriaga . . . . .	—	C. of Or.	Or.
3. Arriaga to Bucarely . . . . .	—	Or.	Dft.
4. Bucarely to Rivera . . . . .	Or.	Dft.	Cer.
5. Rivera to the presidial commanders . . . . .	Dft.	Cer.	Cer. of Cer.
6. The presidial commanders to Rivera . . . . .	Or.	Cer.	Cer. of Cer.
7. Rivera to Bucarely . . . . .	Dft.	Or.	Cer.
8. Bucarely to Arriaga . . . . .	—	Dft.	Or.
9. Arriaga to Gálvez . . . . .	—	—	Dft.
10. Gálvez to Arriaga . . . . .	—	—	Or.
11. Arriaga to the Council of the Indies . . . . .	—	—	Dft.
12. The Council of the Indies to Arriaga . . . . .	—	—	Or.

<sup>5</sup> For example, several of the archives of Mexico.

<sup>6</sup> See Chapman, *The founding of Spanish California*, p. 170, n. 63, especially the second column of page 170.

<sup>7</sup> The abbreviations used are the same as those of the *Catalogue*; they are explained in Section IV, C, 2, of this Introduction.

In some of the above cases the document might be an uncertified copy of an original or certified copy, thus operating more particularly against the technical value of the file at Seville, but it will be seen, from an investigation of the *Catalogue*, that such instances are rare.<sup>8</sup> In matters of purely local character or of minor importance, documents like those from 4 to 7 may never have been sent to Spain, although they may appear at Salinas and Mexico, while there is undoubtedly a great body of material, like items 5 and 6, that would exist only in a provincial archive. Attention should also be called to the fact that, for such documents as exist in all three archives, the best technical file is that of the province, the next best that of the viceroyalty, and next after that the file in Spain.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, the documents

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *infra* Section IV, C, 6.

<sup>9</sup> Much material of the Spanish period relating to regions now within the United States is still to be found in various local archives, as may be seen from the following account of the local archives of Texas, New Mexico, and California.

One of the most valuable archives of the northern Spanish frontier is that which accumulated in the old Spanish province of Texas. In the early years of its history the district was a part of Coahuila. For half a century, from 1722 to 1772, the capital was at Los Adaes (now Robeline) in the present state of Louisiana. Thenceforward, to the end of the Spanish period, the seat of government was at San Antonio de Bexar. In the course of time, the provincial records became somewhat scattered. The bulk of them, however, found their way into the County Courthouse of Bexar County (at San Antonio), where they remained until, some eighteen years ago, they were transferred to the University of Texas, at which place they have formed the basis for much of the notable historical work done at that university. Fragments of the archives are at the State Historical Library, Austin, where they are known as the Nacogdoches Archives. Still other fragments were found in the Lamar Papers, which were purchased by the state of Texas, a few years ago. These, too, are now at the State Library. The provincial records at the University of Texas are well known as the Bexar Archives. They comprise about 300,000 pages of original documents, consisting mainly of the correspondence of military and civil officials.

When the United States government acquired New Mexico in 1848, fairly complete records were found in the provincial archives at Santa Fe for the period since 1692. Few documents were of prior date to the latter year, due to the fact that in the revolt of 1680 all the records, covering the period from 1598, were burned, and it was not until 1692 that the Spaniards were able to return to New Mexico. In 1903, the Secretary of the Interior, acting for the United States government, took charge of the Spanish archives of the territory of New Mexico. During the preceding fifty-five years of American occupation, however, the archives had not been properly cared for, and in 1870 an American governor was even guilty of the vandal act of selling documents to the merchants of Santa Fe for wrapping paper. After the Secretary of the Interior assumed control in 1903, the papers still remaining at Santa Fe were, with the exception of a few that were retained in the Surveyor-General's office in that city, removed to the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress. There they have been arranged in chronological order, the sheets have been cleaned, and a catalogue in English has been made of them. For more detailed

at Seville have a number of advantages. Documents like those of item 1 are often at Seville in the original, as well as in copies therefrom, and eventually that should be the general rule, when all Spanish colonial materials shall be stored at Seville, as contemplated by law. Furthermore, documents like those of items 9 to 12, always of the highest technical rank, are to be found only in Spain. They may be described generally as intra-departmental (within the Indies department itself), inter-departmental (among the various governmental agencies of Spain in Europe), and private (whether as the result of official requests for an opinion or arising from petitions of individuals) correspondence in Europe (usually in Spain) of which official cognizance was taken by the department of the Indies. Finally, the whole *expediente* in Spain is the file upon which the highest official action was based.

Whatever argument there may be as to the comparative value of the documents in Seville and elsewhere as to kind, there can be none as respects their number, in which particular the Archivo General de Indias is far superior to any other in the same field. In 1913 there were nearly 40,000 *legajos* in the archives.<sup>10</sup> When the transfers from accounts, see Vaughan, J. H., *A preliminary report on the archives of New Mexico*, in American Historical Association, *Annual report for 1908*, pp. 465-494; Twitchell, *Spanish archives of New Mexico*, 2 vols. (Cedar Rapids, Ia., 1914), Prefatory note.

Unfortunately, the Spanish provincial archives of Alta California have not been kept intact, and probably the greater part of them has been destroyed. After the conquest of California by the United States, the archives were placed in charge of the United States Surveyor-General for California. Some of the papers were later taken elsewhere, but the greater part were still in possession of that official at the time of the San Francisco fire of 1906. In over three hundred volumes of Spanish records, scarcely more than a score escaped the conflagration. Fortunately, however, sixteen volumes of original documents, dating from 1781 to 1850, had been transferred, in 1858, to the Monterey County archive, in the recorder's office at Salinas, and there they still remain. Five of the volumes relate to criminal matters; the others are miscellaneous, containing official correspondence, private letters, public addresses, and petty court papers. They comprise, without doubt, the most valuable source material for the Spanish and Mexican periods of California history to be found in any of the archives of California. Other records of a more local nature exist in the archives of cities which were the former *pueblos* of Spanish California, as at Los Angeles, San Jose, and Santa Cruz (Branciforte), and still others at many of the missions, especially at Santa Barbara, where an attempt has been made to collect the files of all the missions.

For the material of the preceding paragraphs, the writer is indebted to Professor Herbert E. Bolton, Dr. Charles W. Hackett, and Mr. Owen C. Coy, secretary of the California Historical Survey Commission.

<sup>10</sup> Roscoe R. Hill (in his *Descriptive catalogue of the documents relating to the history of the United States in the Papeles procedentes de Cuba deposited in the Archivo General*



other Spanish archives have been completed, there should be a total of 80,000 *legajos*.<sup>11</sup> While a number of *legajos* contain only several hundred pages of manuscript material, and still others have as many as six thousand, the usual size of a *legajo* is about two thousand pages. The number of documents will vary greatly, from a single huge *testimonio* or several bound volumes to as many as two thousand documents. Counting *testimonios* as one item, it is probable that there may be an average of four hundred documents to a *legajo*.<sup>12</sup> If the separate documents of *testimonios* are included, the number may easily reach double that figure. On this basis, the ultimate wealth of the Archivo General de Indias is from 32,000,000 to 64,000,000 documents, aggregating 160,000,000 pages of manuscript! The vastness of these numbers and the possibilities that await the American investigator can best be appreciated, when one considers that an estimate made in 1907 by a competent scholar, with the financial backing of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, revealed only 5332 copies in the United States of documents from the archives of Spain—not merely from the Archivo General de Indias<sup>13</sup>—although many from the archive at Seville have since been added to American libraries.<sup>14</sup>

*de Indias at Seville*, Washington, 1916, p. vii) says "about 35,000," and in a list on page ix gives a more nearly exact estimate of 35,731 *legajos*. William R. Shepherd (in his *Guide to the materials for the history of the United States in Spanish archives*, Washington, 1907, p. 55), says "some 40,000 *legajos*," and those are the figures given by Señor Torres Lanzas, head of the archive, to the writer. The two estimates may be reconciled by the fact that there are some groups of papers in which the *legajos* are so large as to be unwieldy, and it has long been planned to reduce them to a more convenient size. In 1913, after Mr. Hill's departure from Seville, this work began on the 1194 bundles of the *Escribanía de Cámara del Consejo de Indias* papers, which are expected to yield about 3000 *legajos* of the usual size.

<sup>11</sup> This is the estimate of Señor Torres Lanzas.

<sup>12</sup> Hill, *Descriptive catalogue*, p. xxix, estimates that there are an average of five hundred documents in the *legajos* forming the basis of his work. In the *legajos* investigated for the present *Catalogue*, it is doubtful if the average is over three hundred, owing to the great number of *testimonios*, and it may be less.

<sup>13</sup> Robertson, James A., *List of documents in Spanish archives relating to the history of the United States which have been printed or of which transcripts are preserved in American libraries*. Of the 5332 items, 1075 concern printed documents, but the transcript entries often include more than a single document.

<sup>14</sup> Through the efforts of N. S. G. W. Fellows and of Dr. William E. Dunn of the University of Texas, thousands of documents have been procured for the Bancroft Library of the University of California, the Library of the University of Texas, the Newberry Library of Chicago, and the Library of Congress. Thus, students in the Spanish American field have an opportunity to carry on extensive work in any one of four widely separated cities of this country.

B. *The archive building.*—The history of the Casa Lonja, as the archive building is called, has been told by most of the writers who have dealt with the material it contains.<sup>15</sup> In brief, it may be stated that a law was passed, on October 30, 1572, calling for the erection of the building for the use of the Casa de Contratación. The work was in charge of the elder Herrera (Juan de Herrera), most famous Spanish architect of all time, the builder of the Escorial and other notable edifices in Spain, and the building is one of the most pleasing examples of his style. On August 14, 1598, the work was completed. For over a hundred years, the Lonja was the seat of the busy Casa de Contratación, but in the eighteenth century, with the removal of that institution to Cádiz, it became untenanted. In 1778, the idea of an archive of the Indies was suggested to the king by Juan Bautista Muñoz, celebrated historian and even more celebrated archivist. The project was received with favor, and the Casa Lonja was proposed by José de Gálvez, at that time *ministro general de Indias*, as the archive building. In 1785, with the arrival of a number of *legajos* from Simancas, the Lonja was fairly embarked on its new career. From that time forth, other consignments of papers were made to the archive,<sup>16</sup> until at length the upper floor of the building, the only space thus far allotted, could not conveniently house more of the *legajos*. Laws were passed for the delivery of the lower floor for archive purposes as well, and in 1913 the laws were executed. With this addition, it is believed that there will be enough space, though with little to spare, for the 80,000 *legajos* which will one day be the completed store of the Archivo General de Indias.

There are practically no formalities attending admission to the archive for purposes of investigation,<sup>17</sup> and, once there, the investigator is allowed wide latitude for the pursuit of his studies. While waiting for a *legajo*, he has an opportunity to consult the valuable library of over a thousand volumes, which the Archivo General de Indias has accumulated concerning Spanish America. While the archive has no funds for the purchase of books, the library is constantly growing through gifts; incidentally, it is a rule of courtesy that students who use the materials of the archive shall donate copies

<sup>15</sup> See especially the already cited works of Shepherd and Torres Lanzas.

<sup>16</sup> Hill, *Descriptive catalogue*, p. ix, gives a table showing the different larger groups of papers, their inclusive dates, the number of *legajos* in each, the origin of the papers, and the dates when they came to the Casa Lonja.

<sup>17</sup> On this point, see Shepherd, *Guide*, p. 59, and Hill, *Descriptive catalogue*, pp. ix–xi.

of their printed works based thereon. The investigator who is unable to go to Seville for his documents is free to arrange for copying through the N. S. G. W. Fellows, when they are present, or he may apply directly to the chiefs of the archive.

C. *The arrangement of the papers.*—In the formation of the *legajos*, of whatever set, the year 1760 is a kind of twilight zone between the disorder of the older papers and the excellent arrangement of those of later date; the disorder continues through that year in some *legajos*, while in others that is the date where good order begins. Before 1760, *expediente* groupings are rarely maintained, and are often completely lost, through the disappearance of documents, or through their having been filed in separate *legajos*. The arrangement of the post-1760 *legajos* is admirable. The general rule is for a subgrouping by individual years, within which the particular year's *expedientes* appear. The *expedientes* are conveniently arranged, so that the relationships of the documents are manifest from the very make-up of the file. Occasionally, in *legajos* that have been used by investigators, but especially in those from which copies have been made, an ante-1760 chaos has made its appearance. Whether the fault be that of an investigator or that of an archive clerk, it cannot be too greatly regretted, and it is to be hoped that the evil practice may be checked or done away with.

The papers are divided into twelve (or, if those styled Indiferente General are considered separately from the Audiencia group, thirteen) larger sets, ranging in numbers from the 105 *legajos* of the Estado group, to the 18,860 of the Simancas papers (including both the Audiencia and Indiferente General sections, of which the former contains over 15,000). Some attempts at cataloguing the materials have been made, but while the *inventarios* and *índices* of certain sets, for example the Patronato Real<sup>18</sup> and Estado groups, have been

<sup>18</sup> The most famous of all the sets of materials at the archive is that of the Patronato Real. The title of these papers would lead one to expect them to deal with the royal patronage with regard to the church, but the name has no relation to the subject matter; they are so called, because they are stored in a room which was formerly the office of that branch of royal administration. They represent the selections of Juan Bautista Muñoz of the materials which he considered the most valuable of the archive. As such, they have been used by investigators more than many other equally valuable sets, and they constitute the principal source for the much cited *Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía*, 42 vols. Madrid, 1864–1884. Cf. Chapman, *The founding of Spanish California*, p. 438. The documents of the Patronato Real are particularly rich in materials for the era

commendably well done, those of others present very meagre guides to the materials referred to. This is particularly true of what is perhaps the richest set of all for general purposes, as well as the greatest in number of *legajos*, the above-mentioned Simancas papers, to which three small *inventarios* are devoted. In the case of this set, a one or two line description, with inclusive dates, is given for the various groups of *legajos*, a single item embracing from one to as many as twenty-five *legajos*—obviously not a very detailed clue to the contents.

The names of the larger sections will occasionally convey some idea as to the nature of the materials, but the basis of appellation is, not subject-matter, but the office whence the papers came to the archive. Thus, the Simancas papers came from the archive at Simancas. The principal subgroup is called the Audiencia papers, not because it deals with the activities of *audiencias*, but because the various *audiencia* jurisdictions were taken as convenient geographical divisions. Similarly, the other subgroup of the Simancas papers is called Indiferente General, because the documents were not easily referable to any single *audiencia* jurisdiction.<sup>19</sup> The *legajos* are located by *estante* (stack), *cajón* (compartment, or shelf), and *legajo* (bundle) numbers, and the three together (e. g., 104-3-2) are habitually termed the *legajo* number. The title of an individual *legajo* and its inclusive dates will usually give a general indication of subject-matter and the range, in time, of the documents, but neither is a safe clue in all cases, as will be seen by reference to the section of this *Catalogue* dealing with *legajo* descriptions.<sup>20</sup>

of the *conquistadores*; they contain little or nothing for the eighteenth century. There is still much of value in this set that has not been used, e. g., the six hundred page manuscript account of the Coronado expedition by Baltasar de Obregón, which was virtually unknown until found by the writer and copied for the Newberry Library of Chicago; but, as a general rule, other sets will now yield far more to the investigator in search of new materials. The *inventarios* and *índices* of the Patronato Real are the type which has been followed with more or less success in the cataloguing of other sets. The *inventarios* of this set (of which there are two) list the materials, sometimes by *expedientes*, and at others document by document. The *índices* (of which also there are two) provide an alphabetical index, usually by names of persons, but in some cases by names of places and institutions as well, to the *inventarios*. Where possible, the alphabetical index is applied within geographical units.

<sup>19</sup> This section has also served as a category for materials which came to the archive, not necessarily from Simancas, after the *inventarios* of other groups had been made up. It is therefore a growing set. (Shepherd, *Guide*, p. 67.)

<sup>20</sup> It is a temptation to write a general account of the various larger groups of papers, for which the writer has notes available, but it is doubtful if much that is useful could be added to the concise statements appearing in Shepherd's *Guide*.

D. *Works dealing with the archive.*—A bibliography of works treating of the Archivo General de Indias is provided in Hill, *Descriptive catalogue*,<sup>21</sup> p. vii. The following items may be added to Mr. Hill's list:

*El Archivo de Indias y la Sociedad de publicaciones históricas.* Madrid. [1912]. This is an illustrated thirty-one page pamphlet in two parts. The first part, in fifteen pages, is the work of Dr. Pío Zabala y Lera, referring to the publications, past and prospective, of the *Sociedad de Publicaciones Históricas*. The second part, written anonymously by Señor Don Pedro Torres Lanzas, chief of the archive, concerns the Archivo General de Indias. It ranks with Shepherd's *Guide*<sup>22</sup> as the most useful description yet published of the general contents of the archive.

Larrabure y Unanue, Eugenio, *Les archives des Indes et la Bibliothèque Colombine de Séville*. [Paris. 1914]. This is a profusely illustrated eighty-eight page pamphlet, of which fifty pages are devoted to the Archivo General de Indias. Practically the entire space deals with the exposition of documents at that archive in 1913, in celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of Balboa's discovery of the Pacific Ocean.

There is an article in *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires* (2), II, 367, not available to the present writer, cited in Shepherd, *Guide*, pp. 59, 96.

More popular in character, but often containing material of value, are the various reports of the N. S. G. W. Fellows, published, from time to time, in the *Grizzly bear magazine* of Los Angeles, and articles of like character by Dr. William E. Dunn of the University of Texas in newspapers and magazines of Texas, e. g., *Hunting old documents in Spain*, in *The alcalde* (Austin, Texas), III, pp. 345-354, Feb., 1915. The most complete and most available description of the archive, for American scholars, especially as regards the *inventarios* and *indices* of the different sets of papers, is Shepherd's *Guide*, supplemented as regards arrangements and archive rules since the publication of Shepherd's work by Hill's *Descriptive catalogue*. Both of these works, as well as those of Bolton, Pérez, and Robertson, cited in notes 2 and 13, are among the publications of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

<sup>21</sup> See *supra*, n. 10.

<sup>22</sup> See *supra*, n. 10.

## II. THE NATIVE SONS' FELLOWSHIPS

A. *The Native Sons of the Golden West*.—The Native Sons of the Golden West have the unique distinction of being perhaps the only fraternal society in the United States which devotes its efforts and its funds to the promotion of state history. In so doing, they are taking the logical course springing out of the circumstances of their origin and membership. The idea for the founding of the order originated with General A. M. Winn, who, as grand marshal of a Fourth of July parade at San Francisco in 1875, had arranged for a division of marchers made up entirely of young men "born under the American flag" in California. Such a group was formed, and it marched in the parade, held that year on Monday, July 5. The following Sunday, July 11, a number of the participants and others within the terms of General Winn's call held a meeting, and at Winn's suggestion formed a society, choosing the name which still endures. In March, 1876, the society was incorporated, at which time it had a membership of 113. Membership was limited to men (over eighteen) born since July 7, 1846, the date when Commodore Sloat took formal possession for the United States at Monterey.<sup>23</sup> In 1885, the rules were extended to include native Californians born before the raising of the American flag, as well as those born afterward.

The founders seem originally to have contemplated an extension of the order into the various states of "the Golden West," but it is perhaps fortunate for the cause of history that the order eventually became purely Californian in its aims. It has increased in influence, until today there are 172 chapters, or "parlors," with a membership (in 1916) of 20,722. Closely affiliated with it is the order of the Native Daughters of the Golden West, a similar organization for California women, with a total of 143 parlors.

The Native Sons have long been engaged in work tending to the perpetuation of the records of California's past. To them are due the marking of many historic spots and the repair and preservation of the far-famed California missions. Not the least important of their measures was the founding of the Native Sons' Fellowships in History at the University of California.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> General Winn and G. W. Anthony were admitted as honorary members; neither was a native of the state.

<sup>24</sup> Section A is based on Jung, Fred H., *What, who, and how, the Native Sons*, in *Grizzly bear magazine*, XX, no. 6, p. 25, April, 1917. Mr. Jung is Grand Secretary of the order.

B. *The founding of the fellowships.*—At the “Grand Parlor,” or general, meeting of the Native Sons at Marysville in April, 1909, a resolution was adopted for the appointment of a committee of five to investigate and report, at the next session of the Grand Parlor, as to the feasibility of establishing a chair in California history at the state university. The committee conferred with Professor H. Morse Stephens, head of the history department at the University of California, who advised them that it would first be necessary to train a man for the position, since there was no one properly qualified for it. Professor Stephens suggested the founding of two annual fellowships of \$1500 each, to enable the holders to study California history at its sources in Spain and elsewhere. This idea was accepted by the committee, and was recommended to the order at the next meeting of the Grand Parlor, held in June, 1910, at Lake Tahoe. The resolution was referred to the finance committee, which reported in favor of a gift of \$1500 to the University of California for a Native Sons’ Fellowship for the following year. In this form, the resolution was adopted, and a committee of five was appointed to coöperate with the authorities of the university in carrying out the details of the grant. In June, 1911, at the Grand Parlor meeting, held at Santa Cruz, the sum of \$3000 was voted for two fellowships. Since that time, this amount has been appropriated for this purpose annually.<sup>25</sup>

C. *Brief history of the fellowships.*—While the Native Sons were evolving toward the idea of the fellowships, steps were being taken at the University of California which had much to do with the later success which the Fellows may fairly be said to have achieved. During his sabbatical year of 1909–1910, Professor Stephens spent several months in Spain, with the object of finding out whether an investigation of the archives of that country would yield much in the way of materials for California history. Without attempting an intensive investigation, he found enough to warrant a belief that a number of years could be spent there profitably, especially at the Archivo General de Indias, by students interested in the history of the Pacific coast. With this information and with many valuable copies, he returned to

<sup>25</sup> This paragraph is based upon a letter to the present writer by Mr. D. Q. Troy of Oakland, historiographer of the N. S. G. W. order. The letter is dated May 23, 1917; it contains much more than the brief statement given here, for which reason it has been turned over to the Bancroft Library. A noteworthy source for additional information is the *Grizzly bear magazine*, organ of the N. S. G. W. and the N. S. D. W., where detailed accounts of Grand Parlor meetings are to be found.

Berkeley, where he proceeded to take a fresh step in the upbuilding of a school of Pacific coast history. Since he himself was not a specialist in that field, it was necessary to find somebody who could train students for the problems that would confront them in making use of the materials in Spain. The logic of events pointed to Professor Herbert E. Bolton, then at Leland Stanford University, as the ideal man for the place. For many years, Professor Bolton had been the acknowledged master in the field embracing the former Spanish frontier, in regions now within the United States. Furthermore, he had made extended investigations of the archives of Mexico, the results of which were, shortly afterward, published in his well-known *Guide*, in the Carnegie Institution series. In 1911, Professor Stephens was successful in his effort to induce this scholar to accept a position at the University of California, where he was to have principal charge of the graduate work in the department of history. In the meantime, however, the first Native Sons' Fellow had been appointed.

To Mr. Lawrence Palmer Briggs, Native Sons' Fellow for 1911-1912, all subsequent Fellows, and the writer more than all, owe a debt of gratitude. His was in a measure a step in the dark. Going to Spain without the benefit of Professor Bolton's training, and without an adequate idea of the problems awaiting him, he was placed in a more difficult position than any subsequent Fellow has been. It is gratifying to know that his work has had a positive result, even though he himself was not to bring it to fruition, for the publication of Dr. Priestley's volume on *José de Gálvez*<sup>26</sup> depended in great degree on the investigations of Mr. Briggs. His experiences in Spain, however, were of more particular value to the later Fellows, and especially to the writer, who was the next to go to Spain.<sup>27</sup>

The work of the writer as Native Sons' Fellow is discussed in detail in Section III. On the positive side, his *Founding of Spanish California* and this *Catalogue*, besides a number of articles, are the results of his two-year term, from 1912 to 1914. Upon his return in 1914, he was appointed to a position in the history department of the University of California, and became the first instructor in the history of California at that university. Thus, one of the objects of the Native Sons was achieved.

The other fellowship for 1912-1913, the first year in which two

<sup>26</sup> See *infra*, n. 39.

<sup>27</sup> Upon his return from Spain Mr. Briggs entered the United States consular service, and is now stationed at Saigon, Cochin China.



were available, was divided between Mr. Joseph J. Hill and Mr. Tracy B. Kittredge, both of whom, as Resident Fellows, rendered service in the Bancroft Library. Mr. Hill carried on an investigation concerning the history of the Mormons in California.<sup>28</sup>

For the year 1913-1914, Mr. William Lytle Schurz was appointed, serving in Spain at the same time with the writer, after which Mr. Schurz was named for a second term, ending in 1915. His volume on the *Manila galleon* is expected to be one of the next publications of the University of California.<sup>29</sup>

The second Fellow for the year 1914-1915 was Mr. Gordon C. Davidson. Instead of sending him to Spain, a departure from the usual practice was made when Mr. Davidson was instructed for work in England. He was on board the *Empress of Ireland* when that vessel went down at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, losing all the notes with regard to his work that he had thus far prepared. Nevertheless, his year was spent to good advantage, and his *History of the North West Company* is already listed for publication at the University of California.<sup>30</sup>

Dr. Charles H. Cunningham and Mr. Karl C. Leebrick were appointed in 1915. The latter remained one year. A volume by him, *The English expedition to Manila in 1762*, is soon to be published. He also gathered materials for a catalogue, similar to the present work, covering the *Duplicados de comandantes generales* in the Audiencia de Guadalajara group of the Simancas papers.<sup>31</sup>

Dr. Cunningham remained two years in Spain, from 1915 to 1917. He has a volume on the *Audiencia de Filipinas* on the calendar for publication at the University of California, and has also been carrying on other institutional studies at Seville bearing upon Spanish American history.

The second fellowship for 1916-1917 was awarded to Mr. Tracy B. Kittredge, who almost immediately resigned. His place was taken by Mr. George Leslie Albright. No finer young man or more

<sup>28</sup> Mr. Hill is now teaching in Utah. Mr. Kittredge, after a period of service with the Belgian Relief Committee, is in England at the time of going to press.

<sup>29</sup> Dr. Schurz is now Assistant Professor of Latin American History at the University of Michigan, where he is listed for courses in Latin American history and the history of the Pacific area—offshoots of his service as Native Sons' Fellow.

<sup>30</sup> Dr. Davidson is now a lieutenant in the Nineteenth Reserve Battalion of Canadian Infantry, on service in France.

<sup>31</sup> In 1917, Dr. Leebrick was appointed Instructor in Modern European History at the University of California.

promising scholar ever went forth from the University of California than Mr. Albright. On December 15, 1916, he died at Seville, a victim of typhoid fever. He had continued work at the archive up to the day he was obliged to go to the bed, and, to the last, seemed chiefly concerned over the check in the progress of his work. His volume on the Spanish frontier of New Spain and his proposed catalogue of the viceroys' correspondence will never appear over his name, but a master's thesis written by him, entitled *Plans and official explorations for Pacific railroads*, has been found to be so meritorious, that it will be published at the University of California.<sup>32</sup>

Owing to the entrance of the United States into the war against Germany, it has become impossible to send Fellows to Europe, for the present. Four Resident Fellows have therefore been appointed for 1917-1918. They are Dr. Charles Wilson Hackett, Mr. John Lloyd Mecham, Mr. Charles S. Mitrani, and Mr. J. Fred Rippy. Dr. Hackett is already the author of a number of historical articles, and has a volume entitled *The uprising of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1680* on the calendar for publication at the University of California.

It will be noticed that the Fellows have each prepared one or more volumes, all of them having a demonstrable bearing upon California history, as part of their work in connection with the fellowships. They have also procured copies of these publications for the use of a great body of students, not only for the Bancroft Library, but for other libraries and for a number of American scholars as well; they have represented the University of California on formal occasions in foreign lands; and, finally, they have prepared themselves for university positions, whereby they may spread the gospel of "the Golden West" throughout the country.\*

<sup>32</sup> At the Grand Parlor meeting of the Native Sons, held at Redding, in April, 1917, a memorial *estante*, or *legajo* stack, to Mr. Albright was voted. It will be placed in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville.

\* Mr. Mecham and Mr. Mitrani resigned their fellowships in June, 1917, and enlisted in the ambulance service of the United States army. Their places were taken by Mr. Joseph J. Hill, a former Fellow, and by Mr. Arthur S. Aiton. In the fall of 1917 Dr. Cunningham became an Instructor at the University of Texas, giving courses in Hispanic American history. Dr. Hackett has been appointed Professor and head of the Department of History in the University of New Mexico, beginning work there in the fall of 1918. Lieut. Davidson is reported to have been decorated by the British government for gallantry in action against the Germans. He was severely wounded during 1917, but word has come that he has reported again for duty.

## III. THE WORK PLANNED AND ACCOMPLISHED

The work done by Professor H. Morse Stephens in Spain, in 1909-1910, besides providing the Bancroft Library with a number of valuable copies, had demonstrated that the Archivo General de Indias was rich in materials for Pacific coast history. The work of Mr. Briggs, the first Native Sons' Fellow, was of great service to the writer in a different way. Mr. Briggs was instructed to do work on his thesis and make copies for the Bancroft Library. Although it could not have been foreseen at the time, these instructions made it impossible for Mr. Briggs to accomplish as much, even with his own thesis, as he might have done. With a preliminary training which caused him to view each new important document that had never been used before as a "find," it was only natural that he should stop to take careful notes on as many such documents as he should come upon. The result was unfortunate, in that there was more material than could have been utilized in many years—yet all, or nearly all, had to be taken into account, if the proper perspective were to be gained and the best selection of documents made. Curiously enough, the unexpected wealth of the archive was the most serious factor he had to contend against.

It was at the writer's own suggestion, that a different program was planned for his term as Native Sons' Fellow. He proposed that he abandon work on his thesis until such time as he might gain a wide acquaintance with the available materials at the great archive in Seville. In the meantime, it was suggested that he make lists, without taking notes, of all pertinent documents that he might find, not only on his own subject, but also on California history in general. For this work he had in a measure been prepared by cataloguing certain portions of the manuscript material in the Bancroft Library. This plan was accepted, and instructions were given in accordance therewith.<sup>33</sup> He was to proceed, *legajo* by *legajo*, choosing *legajos* on the basis of their possibilities as regards material for California history, and list California material only.

Upon arrival in Spain the writer began to put the above plan into operation. Problems that had not been foreseen very soon began to present themselves. The methods of entry which he employed at the start were found to be inadequate, resulting in some

<sup>33</sup> C. E. Chapman, *The archives of the Indies: report of the Native Sons' Fellow, for November, 1912*, in *Grizzly bear magazine*, XIII, no. 3, p. 6, July, 1913.

inaccuracies in the technical descriptions of the earlier entered documents.<sup>34</sup> Another question to solve was whether the separate documents of a *testimonio* should be entered or not. It very soon became clear, however, that such a practice would entail an expenditure of time out of all proportion to the value of the entry. He, therefore, decided to make but a single entry of *testimonios*. Similarly, decrees and reports or other notations on the same paper with another document, to which these later documents referred, were not given separate entry. On the other hand, the original practice of entering the subordinate documents of an *expediente*, where the file was composed of separate documents that were tied or folded together, was retained, and results, the writer believes, have justified their retention. These and other problems led eventually to the preparation of the plan on methods of entry which forms the concluding section of this introduction.

A more serious problem arose in connection with the material itself. It had all along been understood that the materials for California history would include documents relating to regions in the direct line of approach to California, especially Baja California and Sonora, but it was not supposed that the affairs of the easterly provinces of the northern frontier, from Nueva Vizcaya to Texas, would have any noteworthy bearing upon the history of the Pacific coast. The fallaciousness of this view became almost at once apparent, and documents dealing with the easterly provinces that clearly bore a relationship to affairs in the west were entered; furthermore, all other materials about the regions now embraced by the American southwest were included. This called for an answer, not always easy to give, to two obvious questions. What materials bore the required relationship, and, since other names were formerly applied to regions now within New Mexico and Texas, when did the documents refer to their present-day territories?

An easy solution, *in theory*, would have been to list all the documents in any *legajo* selected, but this was impracticable *in fact*. It was essential that the writer should make a good showing on California history materials—possibly the continuance of the N. S. G. W. fellowships might depend on it—and the documents had to bear an

<sup>34</sup> The principal difficulty on this score was to determine whether a document was an original, certified copy, or ordinary copy. An attempt has since been made to correct the slips in this particular, and it is believed that they are now rightly described.

unmistakable California mark. Even after the writer's appointment for a second term, time was all too short, and funds which would have enabled him to carry on the work more expeditiously, through the use of clerks for the purely mechanical tasks, were almost completely lacking during the first year of his incumbency and not overwhelming in amount in his second year. Furthermore, the self-evident California material, even including items relating to lands in the Spanish line of approach to California, comprised, on an average, only a little more than five per cent of the total number in the *legajos* actually investigated for cataloguing. Not only was it out of the question to list *legajos* in entirety, but also it was deemed advisable to limit the entry of materials dealing with the territory from Nueva Vizcaya to Texas, since that was found in greater quantity than the more narrowly interpreted California materials. The evident New Mexico and Texas documents, those referring specifically to those regions, continued, as a rule, to be entered, although with some restrictions even in those cases,<sup>35</sup> but the Nueva Vizcaya to Nuevo Santander background was not included.

The general problem came up especially in connection with the question whether it would not be best to confine the cataloguing to some special set of the archive, and to cover that in entirety. The writer once thought of listing the Audiencia de Guadalajara papers of the Simancas, or Audiencia, group of the archive, since that set would almost certainly yield more richly than others for those regions of the northern frontier now within the United States. But it proved to contain 588 *legajos*, or approximately 200,000 documents—enough for a sixty-volume catalogue! Later, the idea occurred to him of listing some definite subdivision of the above-named set, especially the exceedingly rich files of the *Fortificaciones*, *pertrechos de guerra* etc. papers, or the valuable group of the *Duplicados* of the *comandantes generales* of the Provincias Internas. Eventually, however, he decided that it was better to make as wide a sweep of California materials as possible, thus establishing the fellowships, and leaving it to later Fellows to ramify from the foundation he would have laid. As matters were, he was able to include the greater part of the *Fortificaciones*

<sup>35</sup> For example, the greater number of the service sheets entered in the *Catalogue* are of men known to have had more or less direct relation at some time in their career to the affairs of the Californias; the service sheets of other men, even though they might have served in Texas or New Mexico, were omitted.

papers, and, at his suggestion, a later Fellow, Mr. Karl C. Leebrick, listed the entire set of the above-mentioned *Duplicados* papers.<sup>36</sup>

Nevertheless, the number of documents entered bearing upon provinces east of Sonora covers a wider range, the writer believes, than any manuscript catalogue for those regions that has ever been published. Approximately two thousand such documents are catalogued, and they represent possibly the great majority of the most important items that might have been selected. The great bulk of the entered items bear directly upon California, and, except for the related materials of the northeastern frontier, very few documents of that character in the *legajos* catalogued will have escaped the search that was made for them. In all, 207 *legajos* were investigated, yielding 6257 distinct items for the *Catalogue*, of which number it is safe to say that over 5000 had never been utilized in historical works. If the separate documents of *testimonios*, of which there were, perhaps, an unusual number in the *legajos* investigated, might be included in this list, the total number would almost certainly reach 20,000.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, as already indicated, <sup>38</sup> the materials were of the highest all-round technical character, and since the Council of the Indies and the *ministros generales* were the administrative (even though not always the effective) centre for all of Spain's colonies, the larger policies affecting California and the other provinces of the northern frontier are to be found in the documents which passed through their hands, together with an amount of detail that is a never-ending surprise to the Anglo-Saxon mind.

The present *Catalogue* not only serves as a guide to the materials indicated, but aims to be something more, as well. For much that an investigator may desire, the entry in the *Catalogue* will suffice. This statement has already been tested in works by Dr. Priestley and the writer which are based on the documents entered here.<sup>39</sup> Natur-

<sup>36</sup> For a brief description of both the *Fortificaciones* and the *Duplicados* papers, see Part I, B, 30 and 58 of the *Catalogue*.

<sup>37</sup> *Testimonios* of several hundred documents are not at all rare.

<sup>38</sup> See Part I of the Introduction.

<sup>39</sup> Priestley, Herbert I., *José de Gálvez, visitor-general of New Spain*, Univ. Calif., Publ. Hist., V, 448 pp., 1916, and Chapman, Charles E., *The founding of Spanish California*, New York, Macmillan, 1916. In the case of the latter work, citation is made to this *Catalogue*, but not in that of the former. It may be explained here that the occasional absence of an item at a *Catalogue* number, as well as the presence of additional items in the case of some numbers, is due to the writer's citation to these materials before the final arrangement of the *Catalogue*. Wishing to call attention to the work, and being uncertain of its eventual publication, he deemed it

ally, the materials of a more immediate bearing on an investigator's subject must be had *in extenso*, especially in the case of the longer documents, to which it has been impossible to give space in the *Catalogue* in proportion to their (usually) greater relative value. Furthermore, the *Catalogue* is much more than a manuscript bibliography of the two works just referred to. Fifty such volumes, not more alike than the widely different works of Dr. Priestley and the present writer, might easily be based almost entirely on the *Catalogue*, and any number of others could make use of it, at least as an indication of desirable materials. Among the subjects that might be studied with a fair degree of adequacy from the materials here cited, granted that one should also make use of works already in print, are the following: the part played by the regular and secular clergy in Spanish conquests on the northern frontier of New Spain, involving an examination of such institutional topics as the mission system, the problem of secularization, friar lands, etc.; similarly, the part played by the civil and military authorities; with such institutional subjects as the presidio, provincial government, the establishment of a colonial militia, affairs of *real hacienda*, etc.; similarly, the part played by the civilian population, with such topics as the influence of mining (that especially) and stock raising, the use and treatment of Indians by the whites, race admixture, etc.; the interrelations of the elements just named, with special reference to the conflicts between them; the Indian tribes of the New Spain frontier; the *junta de guerra y real hacienda*; the fiscal of the Audiencia in actual colonial administration; Spanish fear of foreign encroachment on her dominions of the Pacific, as a spur to Spanish conquests; Spanish efforts at conquest of the Californias in the seventeenth century; the occupation and development of Baja California; the Pima revolt of 1751 and its consequences; the Rubí inspection of the presidios of New Spain; early voyages to Alta California; the beginnings of Spanish Arizona; the Seri wars of Sonora; Apache wars on the northern frontier; the effective Spanish conquest of Sonora; the Spanish occupation of Alta California; the Department of San Blas; Gálvez's reforms in Baja California and Sonora; the administrative evolution of the Californias; Spanish voyages to the northwest coast in the last quarter of the eighteenth century; Spain's attitude toward American voyages along the Pacific

best to take that course. Thus, it became impossible to change the former entry numbers.

coasts of New Spain and the Californias in the last three decades of Spanish rule; the development of Alta California under Spain; a detailed study of the Anza and numerous other expeditions in themselves; the rule of Teodoro de Croix; history of the *comandancia general* of the Provincias Internas; the relation of the Spanish American revolutions to the Californias, with special reference to the naval attack of the year 1818. These topics and their numerous subdivisions, especially those of a narrative character, are only a few of the subjects for which materials are presented in the *Catalogue*. Still further indications appear in the *legajo* descriptions,<sup>40</sup> which are based on the entire *legajo*, and not merely on the entered material.

#### IV. RULES FOR ENTRY OF ITEMS

It has been deemed necessary in order to explain the data in this particular volume, and worth while as a suggestion to other investigators who may do similar work, to give a somewhat detailed description of the methods employed. It is believed that the rules herein given are adapted to meet the conditions of any document that may be found in the Archivo General de Indias.

##### A. *The first paragraph.*

1. *Function*.—The first paragraph contains an indication of the number, date, place, author, and addressee of the entered document.

2. *Number*.—Entries are arranged in chronological order, and numbered consecutively. These numbers are then used in cross references from one document to another.

##### 3. *Date.*

(a) *Determination of date.* When the date is not stated in the document, the actual date is given, in brackets, if it can be ascertained, or, if it cannot, an approximate date, followed by a question mark in parentheses, is entered, and the entire date entry placed within brackets, e. g., [1796 (?)]. Where there is more than one of a given document (see C. 14), all are taken together in determining the date, and the clearest expression is used as the date entry for all; thus, if one such document bore a date and the other did not, the date of the first would be assigned, without brackets, as the date for both.

(b) *Expediente* and *testimonio* entries. Where a single year is applied to an entire file, of documents physically bound together, that is entered as the date; if no year is given, one may be supplied

<sup>40</sup> Part I of the *Catalogue*.



in brackets. Inclusive dates are given, in brackets, when the file is composed of but a few documents.

(c) Diaries. Inclusive dates, without brackets, are given in the case of diaries, rather than the date when the author completed, or signed, his diary.

(d) Summaries. Since dates of summaries rarely appear, and decrees, with dates, are usually indicated on them in the margin, the date of the decree has been used, or, if that is missing, an approximate date is given. Brackets are used in both cases.

(e) Abbreviations. The month is written in abbreviated form.

#### 4. Place.

(a) Determination of place. When the place is not stated in the document, the actual place, if ascertainable, is given, followed, in case of doubt, by a question mark in parentheses. Brackets are used in both cases. If not ascertainable, the place is omitted.

(b) Abbreviations are extended, e. g., Mexico for Mexco.

(c) *Expediente*, *testimonio*, and diary entries. No place is given.

#### 5. Names of correspondents.

(a) Determination of names. Rule A.4.a., with the substitution of the words "author" or "addressee," is applicable here.

(b) *Expediente* and *testimonio* entries. No names are given.

(c) Spelling. Names are spelled as they appear in the particular document, and abbreviations are retained. Where the name of a person is supplied in brackets, however, modern spelling of Christian names and modern usage as to accents are employed, but in other respects the family name is given, where possible, as the individual himself would have written it. If the bracketed name is that of an institution, correct modern form is followed. Abbreviations are not used in brackets.

(d) Anglicized words. Where a suitable English equivalent exists, official titles indicating the author or addressee are translated from the Spanish, e. g., "the king," "the viceroy," "the Council of the Indies," etc. Exception: where a bishop or archbishop signs with his official title, preceded by his Christian name, the Spanish is retained, e. g., Francisco, Obispo de Guadalajara.

(e) Spanish terms treated as English words. Certain institutions, including practically all those which are written with capital letters, are not italicized, e. g., Contaduría General, Tribunal de Cuentas. The Spanish plural "fiscales" of the noun "fiscal" is used, but the word is not italicized.

(f) Number. Not more than three names are used to indicate by whom a letter was written, or to whom it was addressed. In case there were more than that, a group name is used, descriptive of the body which they composed, or the name of one of them, usually the first-named, or occasionally the one deemed the most prominent person, is entered, or in some cases three names are entered, with an indication of the number of the others.

(g) Simplification of names. Official titles and personal descriptive matter are omitted in entry of names of persons. In some cases names between the Christian and the family name are omitted, and occasionally also the last name, which in Spanish usage is the name of the mother. The full name, minus titles and descriptive matter, is retained, however, in the case of original documents—that is, in those that are signed with the name and rubric of the author, in his own hand.

(h) "The viceroy." The viceroy of New Spain is meant, unless otherwise stated.

(i) Use of "the." The definite article is omitted before the name of the author of a document where the next following word is capitalized, e. g., "Conde de," "Council of," but is retained before words not taking a capital letter, e. g., "The king," "The viceroy," "The *ministro general*." It is always used before the name of an institution or of a titled person being addressed, e. g., "to the Council of the Indies," "to the Marqués de Croix."

(j) "The *ministro general*," or "The *ministro general de Indias*." This term is used for an official of changing name and functions, who was apart from, and superior to, the Council of the Indies during the years most intensively covered by the *Catalogue*. The consistent employment of the correct name is not used, as it would have required the time and labor of an historical monograph to ascertain it in all cases, but in the vast majority of them the actual title was ascertainable and is entered. Usually it has been possible to avoid the difficulty by employing the official's name. •

(k) Summaries for the Council of the Indies. Where a summary of a file is followed on the same document by a decree of the Council of the Indies, the Council is named as the author.

6. *Letter, enclosure, and filing numbers*.—Numbers of letters in a correspondence which has a consecutive series of numbers irrespective of date (letter numbers), those assigned to a series of documents

enclosed in a letter of a given date (enclosure numbers), and those placed on correspondence that has been received (filing numbers) are indicated, when they appear, as the closing item of the first paragraph.

B. *The second paragraph.*

1. *Function.*—The second paragraph contains a brief indication, or catalogue, of the subject-matter of the entered document.

2. *Description of subject-matter in Spanish.*—The description placed on the document at the time of its sending or receipt, with abbreviations and modes of spelling, accentuation, and punctuation exactly as they appear, has nearly always been retained, when present. Where both descriptions are present, the one better adapted for entry from the standpoints of brevity, adequacy, and correctness has been chosen, although where both are equally good, as usually happens, the description placed on the document in Spain has been employed; this must be borne in mind in determining the meaning of an entry, e. g., "*este reino*" in the description of a viceroy's letter will usually mean Spain, not New Spain. In some cases Spanish entries that were exceedingly long, or mistaken, or inadequate have been abbreviated, rejected, or amplified, as the case might be.

3. *Descriptions in English.*

(a) When employed. The description is given in English, within brackets, where no notation of a Spanish clerk appears, or where it was rejected or amplified for the reasons already mentioned.

(b) Style of English used. The English employed aims to represent what might have been placed on the document at the time, involving frequent use of the present and future verb instead of the past, as would be required if the document were viewed purely from the standpoint of the compiler of this *Catalogue*. The past tense is more often applicable in the case of *expediente* and *testimonio* entries than in the case of single documents.

(c) Spelling of proper names and use of accents. The usage of the particular document is followed.<sup>41</sup> Exceptions: abbreviations are rarely employed; many place names of very familiar usage in English are given in the English form, e. g., Monterey for Monterrey, Vera Cruz for Veracruz, New Mexico, England, France, Russia, United States.

<sup>41</sup> Owing to a different practice used in listing material in the *legajos* first catalogued, or to occasional inadvertence later, modern spelling and accentuation appear in some cases, but these instances are not numerous.

(d) Use of "Provincias Internas." Where generally descriptive of the region referred to, this phrase has been rendered "frontier provinces;" where employed to describe the political jurisdiction of the *comandancia general*, the Spanish phrase has been retained.

(e) Use of "Alta California" and "Baja California." For the sake of consistency and in the hope of establishing a practice, these phrases are used, even though it was customary, down to the close of the eighteenth century, to use "la nueva California," "California septentrional," or "los establecimientos de Monterrey" for the former, and "la antigua California" for the latter.

(f) Anglicized words. Rule A. 5. d. (minus the Exception) applies here.

(g) Spanish terms treated as English words. Rule A. 5. e. is applicable.

(h) "The viceroy." Rule A. 5. h. applies.

4. *Subordinate documents*.—These have been described, as well as the principal document.

5. *Expedientes* or *testimonios* bound or sewed together. A single entry for the whole *expediente* or *testimonio* is made; the various documents composing them are not entered separately.

### C. The third paragraph.

1. *Function*.—The third paragraph contains such technical data concerning the entered document as has not already been taken up in paragraph one.

2. *Use of abbreviations*.—The following is a list of those used: Or. for Original; Dft. for Draft; Cer. for Certified copy; the abbreviation for months in dates of certified copies; Uns. for Unsigned; Sum. for Summary; C. for Copy; Dp. for Duplicate; Tp. for Triplicate; 4Dp., 5Dp., etc. for Quadruplicate, Quintuplicate, etc.; p. for page; pp. for pages; Am. Gen. for América en General; Aud. Guad. for Audiencia de Guadalajara; Aud. Mex. for Audiencia de México; Doc. for document; Exp. for expediente; Cuad. for cuaderno; Inf. for Informe, Dec. for Decree; Inc. for Includes; Inc.in for Included in; Acc. for Accompanies; Acc.by for Accompanied by; Enc. for Encloses; Enc.w. for Enclosed with. The words *Estante*, *Cajón*, and *Legajo* are omitted in giving the location, within the archive, of a document; the numbers alone appear, separated by dashes.

3. *Originals*.—A document is considered to be an original when it is signed with the name and rubric, or the rubric alone, of the author,

or authors, of the document. The signature by the rubric alone was often employed, especially by fiscales and departmental secretaries, in intra-departmental correspondence.

4. *Drafts*.—The unsigned file copy retained in the office of origination of the document is called the draft. In practice, the draft was written by a clerk, and corrected by the man who was to sign the eventual original. Clean copies were then made and signed, becoming the original, duplicate original, etc. of documents for which the draft was held as the office copy.

5. *Certified copies*.—These are copies of originals which are certified to, as agreeing with the documents from which they are copied.<sup>42</sup> The date and place of copying is given, if stated in the document. The notation "Cer. of Cer." indicates a certified copy of a certified copy.

6. *Ordinary copies*, "C."—In case a copy is not certified, it is entered in this group. If it is possible to determine with certainty the source of the copy, although usually it is not, that is indicated, e. g., "C. of Or.," "C. of Cer." Many documents have been entered as copies when they may well have been originals. This is especially true of petitions, which it was the practice, oftentimes, not to sign, and in the case of some of the letters of the religious, who (possibly because they were frequently of non-Spanish origin) occasionally omitted the rubric, the unfailing proof of an original, in signing documents. Many others marked copies are almost certainly copies of originals or of certified copies, but it has been thought best not to indulge in guesses, even though they would rarely be incorrect.

7. *Duplicates, triplicates, etc.*—These are documents of practically equal authority with those of which they are an exact copy; thus, the duplicate of an original will have the name and rubric of the author of the original, and so too the triplicate, quadruplicate, etc. The phrase duplicate original ("Or. Dp."), etc. is therefore considered appropriate in describing them.

8. *Unsigned documents*.—Entries so described refer to documents, other than the draft, lacking the name and rubric of the author. They are confined almost wholly to intra-departmental communications—such as a summary of a file of papers as a basis for action by the Council of the Indies (although occasional extracts, or summaries,

<sup>42</sup> In many cases copies from originals are marked "Cer." in the *Catalogue*, even when the notarial certification was lacking on the document, but this practice was abandoned ultimately.

of a file were enclosed, unsigned, with letters from officials in the colonies)—whereas the draft represents a document sent to somebody outside the originating department.

#### 9. Pages.

(a) Number. Number of pages is indicated by the figure preceding the abbreviation for the word "page" or "pages." Fractions of pages are not considered.

(b) Size of page. This is indicated by a figure 1 or 2 following the abbreviation just referred to. Figure 1 represents a page 31 by 21½ centimetres in size; figure 2, a page of 15½ by 21½ centimetres, or the exact fold, or half, of the preceding. In the rare case of departure from these sizes, the actual size is indicated.

(c) Amount on a page. While this varies greatly, it is almost reducible to rule. By law, royal officers sending out communications under their name and rubric (originals) were required to leave a margin of half the page, and to have broad spaces between lines. In the later eighteenth century, in which the bulk of the documents entered in the *Catalogue* fall, the law was almost invariably observed. Originals from ecclesiastical officials and from private individuals have scant margins and spaces, following the practice of the person writing. This is also true of *all* copies, but the certified copies are especially lacking in these respects; the last-named will almost invariably contain more than an average page of print, and will have perhaps five times as many words as the originals of royal officers. An intermediate class, using generous spacing and margins, but not so generous as that employed by documents of the first-named class, is to be found in royal decrees and intra-departmental correspondence.

#### 10. Location of documents.

(a) Location of the *legajo* in which a document is contained. In the case of the Simancas, or Audiencia, papers, three numbers are used, following the indication of the number and size of pages, to mark the location of the *legajo* in which the particular document is found. The numbers stand respectively for the *estante*, *cajón*, and serial number of the *legajo* within the *cajón*, but are commonly referred to, all together, as the *legajo* number. Certain sets, of which only the *Estado* group appears in this catalogue, are numbered on a different basis; in the case of the *Estado* papers, a regional description follows the word *Estado*, after which comes the serial number of the *legajo* within the particular section of the group, e. g., Estado,Aud.Mex.,23.

(b) Location of documents within a *legajo*. This is usually impossible to determine, although the search, in any event, should be but a matter of a few minutes. Occasionally, however, *cuaderno* (parcel), *expediente* (file of papers), and document numbers appear, to indicate the order of filing, and in that case they are cited, preceded by a comma, immediately following the *legajo* number, e. g., Estado, Aud. Mex. 23, Doc. 12.

11. *Indication of documents which have not been entered.*

(a) *Informes*. Opinions of the *fiscales* which are written on the very document being discussed are indicated by the abbreviation "Inf.," but are not entered separately. In rare instances this stands for the opinion of some other official than the *fiscal*.

(b) *Decrees*. In like manner, decrees written on the document under consideration are indicated, but not entered. Such decrees are usually by the *ministro general* or by the Council of the Indies. Occasionally they are important documents, but as a rule they merely give directions for the handling of the document or *expediente* in question.

(c) *Nota*. This marks a marginal reference other than a decree or *informe*. Routine notations, e. g., *Visto en el Consejo*, are omitted.

(d) *Summaries*. The abbreviation "Sum." refers to a summary of an *expediente* of which all the papers are present, obviating the need for separate entry of the summary. When the *expediente* is incomplete, such documents are entered, being technically characterized by the abbreviation "Uns." See C.8. above. In the case of summaries for the Council of the Indies, followed on the same document by a decree of the Council, the technical nature of the document is stated with reference to the decree; these documents will usually be entered, therefore, as originals.

12. *Relationships of entered documents.*

(a) *Cross references*. Entries are given cross references only with regard to their immediate principal or subordinate documents.

(b) *Bases for choice of a principal document.*

(1) Where the *expediente* is composed of an entire *legajo* or of very many documents. If a separate sheet appears, describing the nature of the file, an entry is made of that, or, if no such sheet appears, an hypothetical sheet may be conceived. That item then becomes the principal entry, and is held to include (Inc.) the principal documents of subordinate *expedientes*. Cf. C.12.c.

(2) The smaller *expedientes* that are in good order. Where the file is in the order that it had when last used by the officials handling the matter with which it deals, the first, or outside, document is taken as the principal one, and is said to be accompanied by (Acc.by) the documents immediately subordinate to it. This document will usually be the draft of a letter of the *ministro general* or other supreme official of the Indies; when it is not, the order of the file as it stands has nevertheless been followed. This class of *expediente* comprises the overwhelming majority of those entered in the *Catalogue*.

(3) The *expedientes* which have lost their original good order. In some cases an attempt has been made to bring together material dealing with the same subject-matter by subordinating other documents to some one of them, *but no attempt has been made to change the existing order of the file*, even though it would not be a difficult task to restore the logical order; the danger of error if investigators generally should attempt this is manifest; it is precisely in *legajos* from which copies have been made that lack of good order prevails.

(c) The use of "Inc." Where numerous documents are filed together, by being placed in the same folder or tied together, in cases that are differentiated from an enclosure, the abbreviation "Inc." is made on a principal entry, to indicate that it includes all other principal documents of lesser groups within the same file, and is followed by the entry numbers of the lesser principal documents. Cf. C.12.b.(1). Usually the documents in such a file are closely related in subject-matter, but not always.

(d) The use of "Inc.in." The number following this abbreviation indicates the document to which this one is subordinated in the sense just mentioned in rule c.

(e) The use of "Acc.by." This is used in a similar manner to "Inc." above, but is the principal document of a single *expediente*, whereas a number of *expedientes* may be subordinated to the document bearing the abbreviation "Inc."; thus, a document which is "Acc.by" others may be "Inc.in" another. The numbers following the abbreviation "Acc.by" indicate documents, other than enclosures, which have been filed with the one taken as the principal. Cf. C.12.b.(2) and (3). All documents of an *expediente* usually relate to the same subject matter, but in some cases they do not, due very likely to bad filing.

(f) The use of "Acc." The number following this abbreviation



indicates the document to which this one has been subordinated in the sense just mentioned in rule e.

(g) The use of "Enc." The numbers following "Enc." are for documents which were forwarded as enclosures of this particular entry. "Enc." is not used unless the enclosures appear in the *expediente*.

(h) The use of "Enc.w." The number following this abbreviation indicates the document with which this one was originally enclosed.

(i) Order of indicating relationships. The order employed in indicating relationships is as follows: "Inc.in," "Inc.," "Acc.," "Acc.by," "Enc.w.," "Enc."

13. *General comment not otherwise provided for.*

(a) Indication of the language of a document that is not in Spanish. Unless the non-Spanish language is used in the description of the document in paragraph two, it is noted in parentheses following the technical description of the document, preceding the indication of pages, e. g., Or.(in French). 2 pp.1.

(b) All other additional matter which may seem desirable of entry. Such matter is placed at the end of the third paragraph. The most frequent instance of such entry, perhaps, is the use of the word "See," followed by numbers representing documents on the same subject matter, to which attention is directed.

14. *Additional paragraphs.*—Where documents are duplicated by others, especially if they exist in separate *legajos*, all are given a single entry, but additional paragraphs are made subject to the same rules just given for the third paragraph, with the single exception that the number of pages of a document is omitted in the added paragraphs; though the number may vary from that given in the third paragraph, the latter is a sufficient indication of length. All such duplicates are taken together in determining doubtful points with respect to the first and second paragraphs.

D. *Rules of a general nature.*

1. *Interpretation of handwriting.*—Doubtful spellings and connected or disjointed words are written in the correct form if such an interpretation is possible—otherwise not.

2. *Handling of abbreviations of words.*—Abbreviations, usually marked by the use of superior letters, have been retained in all cases except those specifically excluded in the statement of these rules.

In printing, it has been deemed best to place superior letters on the line with the rest of the word. All abbreviated words, whether marked in the original by superior letters or not, are followed, in printing, by a period. Lack of the usual space before the next following letter will show that the period is for an abbreviation, and not for a full stop.

3. *Making of slips for entry.*—The *papeletas*, or slips, should be made in duplicate, by use of carbon paper and the stylographic pen. This enables the investigator to retain his original *legajo* file with one set, and to place the other in chronological order.





**DIFFICULTIES OF MAINTAINING THE  
DEPARTMENT OF SAN BLAS,  
1775-1777**

BY

**CHARLES E. CHAPMAN**

**COMPLIMENTS OF  
CHARLES E. CHAPMAN**

Reprint from *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*,  
January, 1916, Volume XIX, No. 3

Published by the Texas State Historical Association, Austin, Texas



## DIFFICULTIES OF MAINTAINING THE DEPARTMENT OF SAN BLAS, 1775-1777

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN

In a recent article the writer endeavored to show how important the supply ships from San Blas were in maintaining the early Spanish settlements of Alta California, and how ably the viceroy of New Spain performed the difficult task of getting supplies and ships to the northern establishments in time to prevent abandonment of the province.<sup>1</sup> The difficulties of Viceroy Bucarely and the precarious existence of the new colonies will be even better understood when it appears that maintenance of the Department of San Blas was in itself no small problem. The period covered by this article has been selected because it was long enough after the founding of the department to avoid the effect of abnormal conditions, and also because it was before permanence of the Alta California settlements had become assured by development from within. First, however, a review of the department's history to 1775 will be attempted.<sup>2</sup>

The founding of the Department of San Blas grew out of the need for a port as a base of supplies in conducting wars against the Seris of Sonora, but it would seem to have been associated from the outset in the mind of *Visitador* Gálvez with conquests in the Californias as well. As early as December, 1767, we learn that Gálvez was ardently at work on plans for formation of the department, having charged one Rivero with the duty of establishing a port there.<sup>3</sup> The official objects of the department are stated in Viceroy Croix's instruction of January 11, 1768, for settlement

<sup>1</sup>Chapman, "The Alta California Supply Ships, 1773-76," in *THE QUARTERLY*, XIX, 184-94. "Alta California" is used, as also in the present article, for what is now California of the United States to distinguish the more clearly from Baja California of Mexico, or from "California" or "Californias," which formerly included both. Names of individuals appearing in this account have been identified for the most part, where they were important enough to require it, in the above article.

<sup>2</sup>I have relied wholly on materials of the Archivo General de Indias (A. G. I.) of Seville, Spain. Copies of some of the documents used are now in the Academy of Pacific Coast History, Berkeley.

<sup>3</sup>Rada to Arriaga, Dec. 27, 1767. A. G. I., *Estado Aud. Mex.* 1, Doc. 99.

of San Blas. After the measures necessary for pacification of Sonora and other frontier provinces should be taken, he said, it had been deemed indispensable to found a port for the advantage of boats employed on such expeditions and available for commerce with Sonora, and for the preservation and advancement of the Californias.\* Gálvez proceeded to San Blas in May, 1768, and established the department. Whatever place the Sonora wars may have had in the original plans, the Department of San Blas was to serve primarily as a base of supplies for maintaining the two Californias. The selection of San Blas for this purpose was open to objection, for the port was not a good one, and the site was unhealthful and not suited to either agriculture or stock-raising.

Some idea of the nature and operations of the department may be gained by consulting the *reglamento*, or instrument of government, for the Californias and San Blas of the year 1773. The intimate relation of San Blas to Alta and Baja California is to be noted, for they were regarded as essentially an unit. The principal document in the file which was eventually to become the *reglamento* (for no single document was drawn up embodying the results of deliberations to this end) was a recommendation of May 19, 1773, by Juan José de Echeveste, at that time purchasing agent for the Californias in Mexico City, giving detailed suggestions as to what the *reglamento* should be. The document begins with an estimate of the number of men and cost per year of each of the Californias and San Blas. San Blas was considered under three heads: the department proper; the arsenal or shipyard; and the fleet. The following men were needed: in the department proper, a commissary, an accountant (*contador*), a paymaster and storekeeper, three scribes, an amanuensis, a chaplain, and a sacristan; at the shipyard, a master-workman (*maestro mayor*), a cooper, a rope maker (*corchador*), and a boatswain; in the fleet: for the frigate, a captain and pilot, a second pilot, a boatswain, a boatswain's mate, a steward, a carpenter, a calker, two cabin boys, six steersmen, twenty-seven ship's boys (*gurutemes*), and thirty sailors; for each of two packet boats, a captain and pilot, a second pilot, a boatswain, a boatswain's mate, a steward, a carpenter, a calker, two cabin boys, six steersmen, ten

\*A. G. I., 104-6-15.



ship's boys, and sixteen sailors. The annual cost of the department proper was calculated at 8,691 *pesos*, 4 *tomines* (or *reales*), 6 *granos*, including rations for 127 men in the Californias;<sup>5</sup> of the shipyard, at 12,355 *pesos*, 2 *tomines*, 6 *granos*, mostly for repairs to ships; and of the fleet, at 34,037 *pesos*, 5 *tomines*. Thus the total cost for San Blas would be over 55,000 *pesos* a year, with only three boats in service. As an offset, the salt mines of San Blas produced about 25,000 *pesos* a year. Besides the three ships provided for, which were to serve as supply ships, there were two other packet boats, one sloop, and a schooner in the department for which no funds were assigned. Echeveste recommended that very careful, detailed accounts should be kept at San Blas of goods shipped to the Californias.<sup>6</sup> A *junta de guerra y real hacienda* of July 8, 1773, sustained the recommendations of Echeveste that have been quoted here, but recommended sale of the extra four ships. Special notice was also taken of complaints received from Campo, an official at San Blas, that there were not enough funds on hand even to pay wages to the men,<sup>7</sup> and the necessity was recognized for early despatch of money to San Blas to cover expenses for the rest of the year 1773.<sup>8</sup> Bucarely's decree of July 23 amounted to an agreement with the *junta* until the king should decide upon a new *reglamento*.

Additional duties were placed upon the department in connection with Spanish voyages of exploration to the northwest to see whether the Russians had formed establishments upon American soil. This called for more ships and men and officers. In a letter of July 27, 1773, Bucarely asked Arriaga to send some naval officers from Spain for use in the projected explorations.<sup>9</sup> Arriaga's reply of August 24 informed him that six were being sent.<sup>10</sup> One voyage was made, however, before their arrival, that

<sup>5</sup>Except for four muleteers and the missionaries this number accounted for the entire Spanish establishments of the Californias.

<sup>6</sup>In *Testimonio del Reglamento Provisional*, 1773, A. G. I., 104-6-16, Cuad. 2.

<sup>7</sup>Campo's letters, dated January 27 and February 14, 1773, are in *Testimonio de las representaciones del Comisionado de S. Blas*, A. G. I., 104-6-16, Cuad. 5.

<sup>8</sup>In *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup>A. G. I., *Estado, Aud. Mex.* 1, Doc. 1.

<sup>10</sup>Cited in Bucarely to Arriaga, Nov. 26, 1773. A. G. I., *Estado, Aud. Mex.* 1, Doc. 4.

of Pérez in the frigate *Santiago* in 1774. The burden placed upon San Blas was a heavy one. Bucarely expressed an opinion in his July 27 letter that voyages of exploration would cost less if conducted from Manila. Gálvez suggested to Arriaga, December 18, 1773, that the Manila galleon should be ordered to stop at Monterey on its voyage to Acapulco and leave goods for Alta California, a cheaper method, he believed, than by reliance upon San Blas.<sup>11</sup> So great were the financial burdens of San Blas that one body, the *Tribunal de Cuentas* (Tribunal of Accounts) of Mexico recommended that the department be done away with. This extreme view called forth several protests, among others from Gálvez, who characterized the suggestion as nonsensical, saying that the department was indispensable.<sup>12</sup> One of the problems in the use of San Blas was the great cost and labor involved in getting goods across New Spain to that port, owing to the width of the viceroyalty at that point and the difficulty of the route. It was virtually impossible to get artillery across New Spain to San Blas, necessitating recourse to Manila. This caused Bucarely to send one Agustín Crame to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec to see if a route might be found for transportation of artillery. Crame's expedition was a complete success. Writing of it to Arriaga, March 27, 1774, Bucarely remarked that the Tehuantepec route might be used for transportation not only of artillery but also of goods for Alta California and the ships employed in exploring voyages. It would cost less to send goods that way than it did by way of San Blas, and would take less time than it would if recourse were had to Manila.<sup>13</sup> Despite manifold objections to it, however, San Blas was to remain for many years the seat of the marine department for the northern shores of the Pacific coast of New Spain. We may now proceed a little more in detail to consider its difficulties in the years 1775-1777.

The Pérez voyage of 1774 to the far northwest was followed by voyages of Heceta and Bodega in 1775, while supply ships continued as before to visit Alta and Baja California. It had been intended to follow up the 1775 voyages to the northwest with others, but even before the return of Heceta and Bodega it was

<sup>11</sup>A. G. I., 104-3-4.

<sup>12</sup>Gálvez to Arriaga, March 8, 1774, A. G. I., 104-6-16.

<sup>13</sup>A. G. I., *Estado, Aud. Mex.* 1, Doc. 9.

clear that there were going to be difficulties. The Department of San Blas had exhausted its funds and had been obliged to borrow 7,976 *pesos* because of the expense involved in fitting out the 1775 voyages. Bucarely more than made up the deficiency by remitting 20,000 *pesos* chargeable to explorations.<sup>14</sup> A more serious difficulty arose when the port of San Blas began to fill in. Bucarely referred to this in a letter to Arriaga of June 26, 1775. The department might have to be moved to another port, he said.<sup>15</sup> On August 27, he wrote two letters to Arriaga on this subject. In one, he said that he had directed Miguel de Corral, a lieutenant colonel of engineers, to make soundings of San Blas and other ports in the vicinity.<sup>16</sup> In the other, he said that he was suspending decision about removal of the department from San Blas, until he should hear whether any Russian establishments had been found upon the northwest coasts, in which case he implied that a better port than San Blas would be necessary. If no more should be required than to send supplies to Alta California, San Blas would answer the purpose.<sup>17</sup> The scant depth of the port of San Blas continued to give trouble, however. On July 27, 1776, we find Bucarely writing to Gálvez, who had become *ministro general de Indias* upon the death of Arriaga, of measures that had been taken in view of the filling in of San Blas. The nearby ports of Chacala and Matanchel had been explored, and there was something to be said in favor of moving the department to one or the other. Barring urgent necessity, however, no such course should be taken, for if discoveries in the northwest were to be continued, either San Francisco, Alta California, or Trinidad, Guatemala, would be a better site for a marine department.<sup>18</sup> Gálvez's reply of January 9, 1777, gave orders to continue the department at San Blas until its port should become wholly useless, and then to move it temporarily to Acapulco. Ultimately, it might be established in some good port of Alta California.<sup>19</sup> None of these plans for a change of site matured.

<sup>14</sup>Bucarely to Arriaga, May 27, 1775. A. G. I., 104-6-16.

<sup>15</sup>A. G. I., 104-6-16.

<sup>16</sup>A. G. I., 104-6-17.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup>A. G. I., 104-5-24. Trinidad was suggested, it would seem, because more accessible by land from the Atlantic coast than was San Blas.

<sup>19</sup>A. G. I., 104-5-24.

One of the greatest difficulties that the department had to encounter arose from lack of boats enough with which to carry on its duties, despite the fact that there were five boats in the department in 1776. Several factors arose in that year to complicate this problem. Orders had been received for fresh voyages of discovery to the northwest to be made in the year 1777; Alta California had developed to such a point that more supplies were needed than formerly; and finally, Bucarely's *fiscal*, Areche, had been named *visitador* to Peru, and must needs have a ship for the journey to Peru. As the writer has already indicated in a former article much that was done to solve this question,<sup>20</sup> little need be added here. Bucarely recommended that two new frigates be built in Peru.<sup>21</sup> Gálvez informed Bucarely, December 24, 1776, that he approved of the suggestion,<sup>22</sup> and on the same day gave orders to the viceroy of Peru to construct promptly two good frigates for use in explorations.<sup>23</sup> The chance arrival of a merchant ship at Acapulco permitted of Areche's going to Peru in that. Bucarely wrote to Gálvez, December 27, 1776, that he was also sending Bodega, a naval officer of San Blas, to Peru to see if he might purchase a frigate there.<sup>24</sup> Gálvez approved,<sup>25</sup> and gave orders to the viceroy of Peru that only one frigate needed to be built for Bucarely, if Bodega should succeed in purchasing a frigate.<sup>26</sup> This matter need not be pursued. The voyages of exploration were officially postponed to December, 1778. One boat was procured in Peru, and another built at San Blas, and they left San Blas for the northwest coast in February, 1779.

It may be wondered why the ships were not built at San Blas in the first place. One reason why they were not was the inability of the department to procure ordinary manufactured articles of which it stood in need, such as iron, tools, artillery, canvas, and tackle. In a letter of August 27, 1775, Bucarely asked of Arriaga that a supply of iron and tools be shipped from Spain to Vera Cruz

<sup>20</sup>Article cited in note 1, at pp. 191-94.

<sup>21</sup>Bucarely to Gálvez, Sept. 26, 1776. A. G. I., 104-6-17.

<sup>22</sup>A. G. I., 104-6-17.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup>A. G. I., 104-6-18.

<sup>25</sup>Gálvez to Bucarely, March 19, 1777. A. G. I., 104-6-18.

<sup>26</sup>Gálvez to the viceroy of Peru, March 19, 1777. A. G. I., 104-6-18.

for use at San Blas. He had already asked for a supply of the other effects from Havana, he said.<sup>27</sup> In a letter of September 26 he asked for 2,500 binding plates (*planchuelas*) for use in making water-barrels for the San Blas ships.<sup>28</sup> Grimaldi, acting for Ariaga, who was sick, gave orders that the iron and other effects from Spain be assembled at Cádiz for shipment to Vera Cruz,<sup>29</sup> and that the materials sought from Havana be shipped from there as soon as possible.<sup>30</sup> On the same day, December 22, 1775, he wrote to Bucarely reciting what he had done.<sup>31</sup> There was a comparatively prompt response to the orders as regards effects sought in Spain. On April 9, 1776, Ruiz informed Gálvez that they had been sent to Vera Cruz.<sup>32</sup> Articles sought in Havana, however, were not forthcoming. On October 21, 1776, Bonet, the naval commander at Havana, wrote to Castejón, of the ministry of marine in Spain, that it was in the interests of the service that the effects desired for San Blas be procured in Peru rather than at Havana.<sup>33</sup> Castejón addressed Gálvez about the matter on December 31,<sup>34</sup> and the latter wrote to Bucarely<sup>35</sup> and to the viceroy of Peru<sup>36</sup> on January 4, 1777, to see if they might arrange as Bonet had suggested. Bucarely replied, April 26, 1777, that he had written to the viceroy of Peru, remarking also that it would be less expensive if the goods could be procured in that viceroyalty.<sup>37</sup> Nearly two years had passed since he first asked for them, and they seemed to be no nearer arrival than ever.

Added to these other lacks at San Blas that have been mentioned, there was also a lack of the men required for operation of the department. A letter from two officers of San Blas, Diego Choquet de la Isla and Juan de la Bodega y Cuadra, to Antonio Reggio of Isla de León, Spain, dated February 13, 1775, recited some of the needs of San Blas in this respect, telling also of the

<sup>27</sup>A. G. I., 104-6-17. He enclosed a detailed list of the effects needed.

<sup>28</sup>A. G. I., 104-6-17.

<sup>29</sup>Grimaldi to Felipe Ruiz, Dec. 22, 1775. A. G. I., 104-6-17.

<sup>30</sup>Grimaldi to Macuriges, Dec. 22, 1775. A. G. I., 104-6-17.

<sup>31</sup>A. G. I., 104-6-17.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup>A. G. I., 104-6-18.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.* <sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*

unhealthfulness of the site and disorderliness of ships' crews.<sup>38</sup> The letter was forwarded to Arriaga,<sup>39</sup> who wrote to Bucarely on November 3, 1775, requiring him to provide San Blas with a surgeon and a chaplain, both of which were lacking at the time, and to send soldiers enough to compel crews to observe a proper respect for authority.<sup>40</sup> In a letter of February 25, 1776, Bucarely spoke of a need for carpenters, pilots, and a calker at San Blas.<sup>41</sup> Gálvez seems to have taken up the matter with Castejón, for the latter wrote to him on June 14 that two pilots, two carpenters, and one calker would be supplied for use at San Blas.<sup>42</sup> Francisco Manxón of the Casa de Contratación wrote to Gálvez from Cádiz on July 5 that he was awaiting orders to send the calker and carpenters, but that the two pilots had not yet put in an appearance.<sup>43</sup> Gálvez replied, July 12, that these men and the pilots should be sent at government expense on the first boat from Cádiz,<sup>44</sup> and on the same day he wrote to Bucarely of the orders that he had given.<sup>45</sup>

It had been contemplated that boats for the department should be built in the shipyard of San Blas itself. If there were to be boats, however, there had to be men who knew how to build them. Bucarely wrote to Gálvez on November 26, 1776, stating that a shipbuilder, boatswain, and other shipyard employees were needed at San Blas. He was seeking a builder in Havana, but wanted one from Spain if he could not get one in Cuba.<sup>46</sup> On December 27, he wrote that Goya of San Blas had asked for eighty sailors, two boatswains, twelve shipyard employees, four phlebotomists, two light-tenders (*faroleros*), and two armorers. Bucarely had ordered fifty sailors, a boatswain, and twelve shipyard employees sent there, and had told Goya to try in future to recruit men from the neighborhood.<sup>47</sup> By February 24 he was able to inform

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup>Reggio to Arriaga, Sept. 26, 1775. A. G. I., 104-6-18.

<sup>40</sup>A. G. I., 104-6-18.

<sup>41</sup>A. G. I., 104-6-17.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup>A. G. I., 104-6-18.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*

Gálvez that he had procured twelve shipyard employees in Vera Cruz.<sup>48</sup> Bonet was unable to find a ship-builder in Havana,<sup>49</sup> but Gálvez wrote to Bucarely on February 15 that a ship-builder would be supplied.<sup>50</sup> He took the matter up with Castejón, who replied on April 20 that José Chenard had been designated to go,<sup>51</sup> and Gálvez sent a letter next day to Bucarely to that effect.<sup>52</sup> Bucarely wrote at length, May 27, 1777, reiterating the need for a ship-builder,<sup>53</sup> for it was not until July that he learned of the destination of Chenard.<sup>54</sup> Chenard did not go to Mexico, however. On October 22 Castejón informed Gálvez that Chenard was unable to go, and asked if there was still need for a ship-builder at San Blas.<sup>55</sup> Gálvez replied on October 27 that the king desired that such a man be sent,<sup>56</sup> whereupon Castejón notified Gálvez on November 22 that Francisco Segurola had been appointed to go.<sup>57</sup> Gálvez sent word to Bucarely to that effect the following day,<sup>58</sup> giving orders at the same time to one Francisco Rábago of Coruña to send Segurola by the next boat.<sup>59</sup> This arrangement did not please Segurola, who wrote to Gálvez on the 30th that his precipitate departure would compel him to abandon his family.<sup>60</sup> Segurola's wishes seem not to have been considered, however, for we find a petition of Antonio de la Cuesta, dated December 13, 1777, asking that Segurola's son Ramón be allowed to take the next boat to Havana, so as to join his father there,<sup>61</sup> a request which was granted through Gálvez's letter of the 23d to Rábago.<sup>62</sup>

The above review is enough to give an idea of the difficulties

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup>Bonet to Gálvez, Jan. 31, 1777. A. G. I., 104-6-18.

<sup>50</sup>A. G. I., 104-6-18.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup>Bucarely to Gálvez, July 27, 1777. A. G. I., 104-6-18.

<sup>55</sup>A. G. I., 104-6-18.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*

experienced by the Department of San Blas. Bucarely did all that he could to repair the deficiencies, but delays were unavoidable, for the things wanted were not always at hand or readily assembled. Yet with this lame equipment he had been able to sustain and develop the Californias and to carry on the exploring voyages to the northwest coasts.











PUBLICATIONS OF THE  
ACADEMY OF PACIFIC COAST HISTORY

VOL. 2

No. 5

EXPEDITION ON THE SACRAMENTO AND  
SAN JOAQUIN RIVERS IN 1817  
DIARY OF FRAY NARCISO DURAN

EDITED BY

CHARLES EDWARD CHAPMAN

*Assistant in the Academy of Pacific Coast History*

COMPLIMENTS OF  
CHARLES E. CHAPMAN

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

DECEMBER, 1911

# ACADEMY OF PACIFIC COAST HISTORY.

(Founded 1907.)

## MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

THOMAS R. BARD  
WILLIAM B. BOURN  
WILLIAM H. CROCKER  
GUY C. EARL  
JOSEPH D. GRANT  
MRS. PHOEBE APPERSON HEARST  
WILLIAM F. HERRIN

RICHARD M. HOTALING  
WILLIAM G. IRWIN  
LIVINGSTONE JENKS  
JAMES K. MOFFITT  
FREDERICK W. SHARON  
LEON SLOSS  
SIGMUND STERN

RUDOLPH J. TAUSSIG

BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, ex officio

## OFFICERS.

HENRY MORSE STEPHENS, Secretary.

FREDERICK J. TEGGART, Curator and Editor.

PORTER GARNETT, Assistant Curator.

According to the Constitution of the Academy, there are still five places to be filled upon the Council.

## Extracts from the Constitution of the Academy of Pacific Coast History:

### ARTICLE I.

The name of the Academy shall be the Academy of Pacific Coast History.

### ARTICLE II.

Its object shall be the promotion of the study of the political, social, commercial and the industrial history, and of the ethnology, geography, and literature of the Pacific Coast of America, and the publication of monographs, historical documents, and other historical material relating thereto.

### ARTICLE III.

The Regents of the University of California have entrusted the control and administration of the books and manuscripts collected by Mr. H. H. Bancroft and known as the Bancroft Collection, together with such other historical material as is already in their possession or may come into their possession, to the Council of the Academy of Pacific Coast History, on condition that the President of the University of California be, ex officio, a member of the Council, that the Secretary of the Academy be appointed by the Regents, and that the names of members of the Council be submitted to the Regents for their approval.

### ARTICLE IX.

Any person approved by the Council may become a Fellow of the Academy of Pacific Coast History upon the recommendation of two fellows and the payment of ten dollars; and after the first year may continue a fellow by paying an annual subscription of ten dollars in advance. On payment of one hundred dollars, any fellow may become a life-fellow exempt from further subscriptions.

### ARTICLE X.

The publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History shall be forwarded free of charge to all Fellows of the Academy of Pacific Coast History, and they shall be entitled to additional copies of these publications at a reduced rate from that charged to the general public.

Applications for Fellowships in the Academy of Pacific Coast History may be made to the Secretary, Curator, or to the Secretary of the Board of Regents, University of California, Berkeley, California.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE  
ACADEMY OF PACIFIC COAST HISTORY

VOL. 2

NO. 5

EXPEDITION ON THE SACRAMENTO AND  
SAN JOAQUIN RIVERS IN 1817  
DIARY OF FRAY NARCISO DURAN

EDITED BY

CHARLES EDWARD CHAPMAN  
*Assistant in the Academy of Pacific Coast History*

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA  
DECEMBER, 1911  
LL

COPYRIGHT, 1911,  
BY  
THE ACADEMY OF PACIFIC COAST HISTORY

BERKELEY: THE UNIVERSITY PRESS



## INTRODUCTION.

---

This diary of an exploring expedition on the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers in 1817 is now published for the first time. The original autograph manuscript (6 pages, 12 by 4¼ inches) of Fray Narciso Duran came into the possession of the University of California, in June, 1897, by gift of Mr. Collis P. Huntington, as a part of the "Robert E. Cowan Collection." At an earlier date it was among the materials gathered by General H. W. Halleck for the History of California which he left unfinished.

F. J. T.

## DIARIO DEL FRAY NARCISO DURAN.



V. J.

Diario de la expedicion de reconocimiento hecha en el mes de Mayo de 1817 por el Sr. Comandante del R<sup>l</sup> Pres<sup>o</sup> de N. P. Sn. Fran<sup>co</sup> ten<sup>te</sup> D. Luis Arguello con su lancha Sn. Rafael alias la fina, y por los PP. Fr. Ramon Abella Minto de la M<sup>n</sup> de N. P. S. Fran<sup>co</sup> y Fr. Narciso Duran Ministro de la del Sr. Sn. Jose con la lancha nombrada Sn. Jose, alias la pescadora, en los dos unicos rios que entran en el Puerto de N. P. Sn. Fran<sup>co</sup> llamados del Sacram<sup>to</sup> y de Sn. Joaquin.

---

Dia 13 de Mayo. Salimos de la playa del Pres<sup>o</sup> á las 10 de la mañana de este dia con viento fresco, que nos duró hasta cruzar el boquete del Puerto; y llegamos al remo á las doce del dia á la Isla grande llamada de los Angeles, donde comimos. A las 5 de la tarde salimos de la Isla, y habiendo doblado la punta de Sn. Pablo, que es la del lado de tierra firme de Sn. Jose, paramos á las 8 de la noche, habiendo andado en todo el dia 6 leg<sup>s</sup> rumbo al Nordeste.

Dia 14. Salimos á las 6 de la mañana, y con viento floxo llegamos á medio dia al remate del estrecho de los Chupecanes. La ranch<sup>a</sup> de este nombre es Cristiana, parte de Sn. Jose, y parte de Sn. Fran<sup>co</sup> Dista 14 leg<sup>s</sup> NE de la ultima, y 17 NNO de aquella. Salimos desp<sup>s</sup> de comer con viento fresco, que á media tarde se volvio temporal, con direccion á los Ompines rumbo al E. Por aqui es donde se reconocen las embocaduras de los dos

## DIARY OF FRAY NARCISO DURAN.

---

*Viva Jesús.*

Diary of the exploring expedition made, in the month of May, 1817, by the commandant of the royal presidio of our father San Francisco, Lieutenant Don Luis Argüello, with his launch *San Rafael* or *La Fina*, and by the fathers, Fray Ramón Abella, minister of the mission of our father San Francisco, and Fray Narciso Duran, of that of San José, with the launch named *San José* or *La Pescadora*, on the only two rivers, called the Sacramento and San Joaquín, which flow into the port of our father San Francisco.

---

May 13.—We started from the beach of the presidio at ten o'clock this morning, with a fresh wind which lasted until we crossed the entrance of the port, and at noon we came, rowing, to the large island called Isla de Los Angeles, where we had lunch. At five o'clock in the afternoon we set out from the island, and, having doubled the Punta de San Pablo, which is the point of the mainland on the San José side, we stopped at eight o'clock at night, having travelled in the whole day six leagues toward the northeast. 1817  
May

May 14.—We started at six o'clock in the morning, and with a light wind came at midday to the end of the strait of the Chupcanes. The village of this name is Christian, [belonging] partly to San José and partly to San Francisco; it is fourteen leagues northeast of the latter, and seventeen leagues north-northwest of the former. After lunch we set out with a fresh wind, which in the middle of the afternoon became a storm, heading for the Ompines toward the east. This is where the only two rivers that flow into the port through the said strait unite.

unicos rios que entran por dicho estrecho al Puerto: el uno viene del N y NE y se llama del Sacramento, y el otro del E y SE y se llama de Sn. Joaq<sup>n</sup>: y los dos reunidos en su embocadura parecen ser el que los mapas ponen baxo un solo nombre de Rio de Sn. Fran<sup>co</sup>. Los llamo dos unicos rios, porq<sup>e</sup> parece que las muchas bocas ó brazos que forman tantas isletas de montes y tulares, como tambien algunos otros rios que se encuentran arriba, todos entran á descargar sus aguas en los dos dichos: de manera q<sup>e</sup> aunq<sup>e</sup> las vertientes occidentales de la Sierra nevada formen algunos rios, como dicen, pero todos pierden el nombre y se confunden con los dos mencionados principales.

Habiendosenos pues hecho de noche y adelantadose un poco la lancha del Sr. Comand<sup>te</sup> paró en tierra firme de Sn. Jose en la embocadura de Sn. Joaq<sup>n</sup> y los dos PP. con la otra lancha seguimos el rumbo acordado cogiendo la embocadura del Sacram<sup>to</sup> hasta poder cojer tierra al lado opuesto en tierra de Ompines: pues aunq<sup>e</sup> pasamos cerca de la otra lancha y vimos lumbré, ya no fue posible retroceder por el temporal. Saltamos en un islote de tule que al subir la marea se inundo, y tubimos que acomodar-nos sobre unos Zarzales para defendernos del agua hasta que baxó. Pasamos muy molesta noche aunq<sup>e</sup> alegremente; y no la pasaria mejor el S<sup>r</sup> Com<sup>te</sup>, porq<sup>e</sup> lo que en nosotros fue agua y sin lumbré, allá fue viento sin abrigo. Andubimos en todo el dia 12 leg<sup>s</sup> rumbo NE y E.

Dia 15. El temporal ha seguido toda la noche. A las 5 de la mañana vino el Sr. Comand<sup>te</sup> á juntarse con nosotros, y llegó con el palo mayor quebrado sin haber sucedido desgracia gracias al Sr. que parece medio prodigioso no haber rompido la cabeza ó haber matado á alguno al tiempo de su caída. Salimos luego para buscar paraje comodo para decir misa por ser el dia de la Ascension. Y habiendo andado 5 ó 6 leg<sup>s</sup> rio arriba del Sacramento con el mismo temporal saltamos en tierra seca, donde se cantó la Misa. Pero por ser muy desabrigado y frio el paraje salimos desp<sup>a</sup> de comer á media tarde, y llegamos al anochecer

One comes from the north and northeast and is called the Sacramento, and the other from the east and southeast and is called the San Joaquín, and the two, united at their mouth, appear to be the river which the maps put down under a single name, Río de San Francisco. I call them the only two rivers, because it seems that the many streams or branches which are formed by numerous little wooded islands and tule-patches, as well as some other rivers farther up, all discharge their waters into these two rivers; so that, although the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada may form some rivers, as they say, yet all lose their identity and mingle with the two principal rivers already mentioned.

1817  
May

Then, as night had fallen and advanced a little, the commandant's launch stopped on the San José side of the mainland at the mouth of the San Joaquín, and we, the two fathers, with the other launch, followed the course agreed upon, entering the Sacramento and ascending until we could find land on the opposite side which is in the country of the Ompines; for, although we passed near the other launch and saw a fire, it was already impossible to go back because of the storm. We landed on a small island of tule which at high tide was covered with water, and we had to take refuge upon some places full of brambles to protect ourselves from the water until it receded. We passed a very uncomfortable night, although in good spirits; and the commandant could not have passed a better night, because, while we had water without fire, he had wind without shelter. We travelled in the whole day twelve leagues toward the northeast and east.

May 15.—The storm has continued all night. At five o'clock in the morning the commandant again joined us, arriving with his mainmast broken, but without loss of life, thanks to the Lord, and it seems rather miraculous that it did not break someone's head or kill someone at the time of its fall. Presently we set out to seek a suitable place to say mass, as it was Ascension Day. Having gone five or six leagues up the Sacramento River with the same storm, we alighted on dry land, where the mass was sung. But, as the place was very unsheltered and cold, we started in the middle of the afternoon, after lunch, and at night-

al remate de las lomas de los Ompines, sirviendonos estas de abrigo del temporal. El paraje está donde llaman los Ciervos; y como una legua antes de llegar, la lancha Sn. Jose dio un golpe en un palo anegado que nos asustó pero reconocida desp<sup>a</sup> no se le ha encontrado novedad gracias á Dios. Hemos andado en todo el dia 8 leguas rumbo al E y NE.

Dia 16. Ha seguido el temporal de NO toda la noche y ha parado al amanecer poniendose el cielo de neblina gruesa y casi lloviendo. Salimos con viento floxo á las 8 de la mañana rumbo al NE. A la legua encontramos una boca á estribor con direccion al E, y dicen que es vuelta que da el rio principal. En caso de ser asi, aqui dexamos el dho. rio el q<sup>i</sup> ciñe la Isla llamada de los Quenémsias,<sup>1</sup> y seguimos un brazo haciendo rumbo al N y NO con animo de reconocer la ranch<sup>a</sup> llamada de los Chucúmnes. A otro legua encontramos otra boca ó brazo á Babor, q<sup>e</sup> desde luego nos parecia iba á salir á la dicha ranch<sup>a</sup>. Dexamos sin embargo esta, y seguimos la antecedente. Vimos en esta mañana algunas balsas con gente, y algunas casas sin ella porq<sup>e</sup> al ruido de las lanchas arrancaban. A las 6 leguas encontramos otra boca á estribor con direccion al NE. O esta, ó la primera es la que forma el rio principal del Sacramento. La dejamos, y andubimos siguiendo la misma. Todo el rio esta hecho una alameda por lo poblado y frondoso de las arboledas, aunq<sup>e</sup> con dificultad se puede saltar en tierra porq<sup>e</sup> todo está inundado á causa del crecimiento de los rios por el derritido de las nieves. Hemos parado á las 6 habiendo andado al remo 8 leg<sup>as</sup> rumbos NE, N, y algo al NO.

Dia 17. Toda la noche ha hecho viento fuerte. Salimos á las 6 de la mañana. A la legua encontramos la boca que dejamos ayer á la izquierda. A muy poco rato encontramos la ranch<sup>a</sup> de los Chucumnes, aunque sin gente. Contamos 35 casas, y algunas

---

<sup>1</sup> Or read: *Guenémsias*.

fall reached the end of the Lomas de los Ompines, these hills sheltering us from the storm. This place is called Los Ciervos. About a league before arriving, the launch *San José* struck upon a submerged log, which frightened us, but upon examination afterwards, it appeared that no harm was done, thank God. We travelled in the whole day eight leagues toward the east and northeast.

1817  
May

May 16.—The storm from the northwest has continued all night, stopping at dawn; there was a heavy fog, and it almost rained. We started with a light wind at eight o'clock in the morning going toward the northeast. After going a league we came to a stream to starboard leading to the east, and they say that this is the turn which the principal river makes. In case that is so, we here left the said river, which surrounds the island called Isla de los Quenemsias, and followed a branch with a course to the north and northwest, intending to explore the village called Ranchería de los Chucumnes. After going another league we came upon another stream or branch to port, and instantly it seemed that it was going to lead to the said village. Nevertheless, we left this, and followed the same stream as before. This morning we saw some rafts with people and some houses without, because they rushed away at the noise of the launches. After going six leagues we came to another stream to starboard, toward the northeast. Either this stream or the former is the main stream of the Sacramento. We left it and went on, following the same stream as before. All along this river it is like a park, because of the verdure and luxuriance of its groves of trees. Still, it is difficult to land, because everything is inundated, due to the rise in the rivers from the melting of the snow. We stopped at six o'clock, having rowed eight leagues toward the northeast, north, and somewhat to the northwest.

May 17.—There has been a strong wind all night. We set out at six o'clock in the morning. After going a league we came to the stream that we left yesterday on our left. In a very short time we came to the village of the Chucumnes, but there were no people there. We counted thirty-five houses, some being from

de 40 á 50 pasos de circunferencia lo que indica bastante gente. Llamamos á los gentiles; pero ninguno se ha arrimado. Esta ranch<sup>a</sup> está en un paraje en que el rio se subdivide en unos tres brazos: Uno al Sur, que es el que digo dejamos ayer á la izquierda: otro al poniente, que no sabemos donde desemboca aunque se presume que dando alguna vuelta al Sudoeste va á juntarse con la boca del Sur; y otro al Norte. Habiendo pues comido salimos á las dos de la tarde, y tomamos dicho brazo del norte. Sigue la misma alameda como ayer, y ambas riberas estan inundadas. A las 6 paramos frente una boca que dicen va á ranch<sup>a</sup> llamada de los Ylamnes. Anduvimos en todo el dia no mas que 4 leg<sup>s</sup> porq<sup>e</sup> el rio trae mucha corriente. El rumbo de todo el dia ha sido NO. N. y NE.

Dia 18. Desp<sup>s</sup> de haber dicho Misa por ser Domingo salimos siguiendo el mismo rio rumbo NE. A la legua (que nos costó mucho trabajo andarla p<sup>r</sup> la mucha fuerza de la corriente) encontramos el rio principal del Sacramento que corre de N. á S. Es el mismo que dexamos el dia 18 á mano derecha ó estribor, aunque yo no puedo entender en qual de las dos bocas dichas, si en la primera ó en la última. Seguimos pues rio arriba el qual es muy ancho y de mucha profundidad, y á la media legua paramos á comer. Apenas acababamos de comer quando de repente se alborotó nuestra gente diciendo que venian gentiles á molestar-nos; mas ninguno parecio. Salimos á las 2 de la tarde subiendo el rio, y á la legua hay una boca á mano derecha que da una vuelta y vuelve á entrar en el mismo rio dos leg<sup>s</sup> mas arriba. Como á las 5 descubrimos la famosa Sierra nevada por el NE mediante un claro que ofrece la arboleda de la ribera. La blan-cura de dha. Sierra á todos parecio nieve, aunq<sup>e</sup> tiene tambien (segun dicen) una especie de piedra blanca que se parece á esta. Seguimos un poco mas arriba, y paramos al ponerse el Sol, habiendo andado en el dia unas 5 leg<sup>s</sup> rumbo NE, N, y NO.



forty to fifty paces in circumference, which indicates a considerable people. We called to the natives, but no one appeared. This village is at a place where the river subdivides into some three branches: one goes to the south, which is the one that I say we passed yesterday on our left; another, to the west, and we do not know where it empties, although it is presumed that it makes some turn to the southwest and goes to join the stream to the south; and the other branch goes to the north. Well, we had lunch and started at two o'clock in the afternoon, and took the said branch to the north. The same groves as yesterday continue, and both banks are under water. At six o'clock we stopped in front of a stream which they say leads to the village called *Ranchería de los Ilamnes*. In the whole day we went but four leagues, because the river carries a considerable current. Our course during this whole day has been northwest, north, and northeast.

1817  
May

May 18.—After having said mass, as it was Sunday, we set out toward the northeast following the same river. We went a league (which cost us much labor to go, on account of the great strength of the current), and came upon the main stream of the Sacramento which runs from north to south. This is the same that we left on our right, or to starboard, on the 18th [16th], although I cannot figure out which of the two said streams it is, whether the first or the second. Well, we continued up the river, which is very wide and of great depth; after going half a league we stopped to eat. We had hardly finished, when our party suddenly got excited, saying that natives were coming to molest us; but no one appeared. We set out at two o'clock in the afternoon, going up the river. At a distance of a league there is a stream on the right which makes a turn and leads to the same river two leagues farther up. At about five o'clock, looking to the northeast through a gap in the grove of the river bank, we discerned the famous Sierra Nevada. The white part of this Sierra seemed to all to be snow, although, as they say, it also has a species of white rock which looks like snow. We went a little farther up the river, and stopped at sunset, having travelled during the day some five leagues toward the northeast, north, and northwest.

Dia 19. Salimos á las 7 de la mañana siguiendo rio arriba, y á la legua encontramos una ranch<sup>a</sup> llamada Chuppúmne en la ribera del Este, cuya gente se huyo al ruido de las lanchas, quedando no mas de 2 viejas de mas de 60 años, á quienes despues de catequizadas bautize porque nos parecia que se moriran antes que la Divina Providencia disponga otro tiempo conveniente en que pudieran bautizarse en alguna Mis<sup>ñ</sup>. Salimos de esta ranch<sup>a</sup> á las 10, y paramos á comer á medio dia. Volvimos á salir á las 2 de la tarde, y á lo lejos vimos 2 ranch<sup>s</sup> con gente, y otra desamparada de mucho tiempo á flor de agua. El rio está muy crecido y derramado por ambos lados de modo que apenas se puede saltar en tierra. Hemos parado al ponerse el Sol, habiendo andado en el dia 10 leg<sup>s</sup> rumbo al N. y NO.

Dia 20. Salimos á las 6 de la mañana rio arriba con animo de buscar un paraje descubierto para colocar una cruz, y aqui parar en nuestra subida y retroceder rio abajo. A las 3 leg<sup>s</sup> al atracar las lanchas á la ribera del poniente se avistaron unas balsas en un tular inmediato: y yendo algunos Neof<sup>s</sup> á reconocerlos se encontraron con una ranch<sup>a</sup> de gentiles que venian armados sobre ellos con una griteria feroz qual ellos acostumbran. Fue luego el Sr Comand<sup>te</sup> con la tropa y demas Neof<sup>s</sup> para hablarles, y se apaciguaron y dieron satisfaccion diciendo que se habian armado creyendo que eramos gente enemiga. Nos regalaron *toróus* que es una especie de amole tatemado, y se fueron en paz diciendonos q<sup>e</sup> un poco mas arriba estaba su ranch<sup>a</sup> que allá nos aguardarian para darnos pescado. Comimos y salimos andando una legua mas arriba; pero no encontramos ni vimos ranch<sup>a</sup> ni gentil sino un pobre viejo dormido sobre un palo que nada habia sabido de las lanchas. Le dimos pinole y lo despachamos. Viendo que nadie se acercaba hicimos una Cruz en un roble, la q<sup>e</sup> bendecida y adorada de la gente sirvio de termino á nuestra subida. A este paraje se puede venir por tierra en tiempo de secas segun parece á la vista, porque aunq<sup>e</sup>

May 19.—We started at seven o'clock in the morning, continuing up the river, and, after going a league, came upon a village on the eastern bank called Chuppumne, whose people fled at the noise of the launches, leaving but two old women, each over sixty years of age. After instructing them in the Christian faith, I baptized them, because we thought that they would die before Divine Providence might arrange another fitting time when they could be baptized at some mission. We left this village at ten o'clock, and stopped to eat at midday. We again set out at two o'clock in the afternoon, and in the distance saw two villages with people, and another by the water abandoned some time since. The river is much swollen and is flooded on both sides, so that one can scarcely alight upon land. We stopped at sunset, having travelled during the day ten leagues toward the north and northwest.

1817  
May

May 20.—We started up the river at six o'clock in the morning, intending to look for an open place, in order to put up a cross, and there to stop in our ascent, and to go back down the river. We had gone three leagues, when upon the launches touching the western bank, some rafts were descried in a near-by tule-patch. Some neophytes went to inspect them and found a village of natives, who came toward them armed and with a fierce shout, as is their custom. Presently the commandant went with the soldiers and the other neophytes to talk to them, and they became pacified and made an apology, saying that they had armed themselves in the belief that we were a hostile people. They gave us *toróus*, which is a kind of pounded soaproot, and they went away in peace, telling us that their village was a little farther up the river, and that they would await us there to give us some fish. We had lunch and set out, going one league farther up the river; but we neither came upon nor saw either village or native, except a poor old man, asleep upon a log, and he had known nothing of the launches. We gave him some *pinole* and sent him away. Seeing that no one was near we carved a cross on an oak-tree, and this having been blessed and adored by the people, marked the end of our ascent. One may come to this place by land in the dry season, to judge by appearances, because, although one

en las inmediaciones se ve tular, parece que en 8<sup>bre</sup> todo ha de quedar seco porq<sup>e</sup> no tienen mas agua que de los derrames del rio. Esto sup<sup>to</sup> de aqui para adelante mejor por tierra que por agua podria seguirse el curso del rio, y examinar la inmensidad de tierras que hay hasta el remate de la Sierra nevada, las quales es regular esten pobladas de inumerble gentilidad. Y una vez descubierta la entrada en la Sierra, que parece ofrece el dicho remate, se podria averiguar la verdad de lo que nos cuentan los indios hace algunos años, de que al otro lado de la Sierra nevada hay gentes como los soldados, y nunca podemos atar cabos y saber si son españoles del N. Mexico, ó Ingleses de la Columbia, ó rusos de la Bodega.

Desde aqui vimos como á 10 leg<sup>s</sup> al NO el altisimo cerro llamado por la tropa que ha pasado cerca su falda JESUS MARIA. Está todo nevado. Dicen que cerca de él pasa un rio caudaloso del mismo nombre, el q<sup>l</sup> entra en el rio del Sacramento, y sospechan si es algun brazo de la Columbia. Esto lo he oido á algun soldado, y lo cierto quede en su lugar. Subimos hoy 4 leg<sup>s</sup> rumbo N. y NO.

A las 4 de la tarde empezamos á baxar, y al ponerse el Sol paramos en la ribera occidental frente el paraje del 18 habiendo andado 14 leg<sup>s</sup> en tres ó 4 horas por la gran fuerza de la corriente. El rumbo es de S. y SE.

Dia 21. Salimos á las 7 de la mañana, y á poco rato encontramos á mano derecha la boca por donde el 18 entramos en el rio principal. Y dexando aquella y siguiendo este, á la legua encontramos una ranch<sup>a</sup> llamada de Ochejamnes de 40 casas; pero sin gente. A poco rato encontramos la punta de la Isla llamada de los Quenemsias.<sup>1</sup> Aqui dexamos el rio principal del Sacramento á mano derecha, que corre al SO, y cojimos una boca á la izquierda que corre al SE en cuya entrada mataron los gentiles el año [1813] al dif<sup>to</sup> Julio Alcalde de S<sup>n</sup> Jose. Con trabajo pasan

---

<sup>1</sup> Or read: *Guenemsias* or *Guenemsios*.

sees tule-patches in the vicinity, it seems that in October everything must be dry, for there is no water except the floods from the river. This being so, the course of the river from here on could be followed better by land than by water, and the vast lands to the end of the Sierra Nevada be examined, which lands, it is likely, may be settled by innumerable natives. Once the pass in the Sierra is discovered, which the said end seems to offer, we would be able to ascertain the truth of what the Indians have told us for some years past, that on the other side of the Sierra Nevada there are people like our soldiers. We have never been able to clear up the matter and know whether they are Spanish from New Mexico, or English from the Columbia, or Russians from La Bodega.

1817  
May

At about ten leagues to the northwest of this place we saw the very high hill called by soldiers that went near its slope Jesús María. It is entirely covered with snow. They say that a great river of the same name runs near it, and that it enters the Sacramento River, and they conjecture that it may be some branch of the Columbia. This I have heard from some soldier; let the truth be what it may. To-day we went four leagues up the river toward the north and northwest.

At four o'clock in the afternoon we began to go down the river, and at sunset stopped on the western bank in front of the place where we were on the 18th, having travelled fourteen leagues in three or four hours because of the great force of the current. Course, toward the south and southeast.

May 21.—We started at seven o'clock in the morning, and, in a little while, came to the stream on the right, by which on the 18th we entered the principal river. Leaving that stream and continuing along this river for a league, we came upon a village of forty houses called Ranchería de Ochejamnes; but there were no people there. In a little while we came upon the point of the island called Isla de los Quenemisas. Here, on our right, we left the principal stream of the Sacramento, which runs to the southwest, and took a stream to the left which runs to the southeast, at the entrance of which, in the year [1813], the natives killed the late Julio, alcalde of San José. The launches are proceeding

las lanchas por los muchos palos que tiene. A las 6 leg<sup>s</sup> encontramos la ranch<sup>a</sup> de los Guaypéms<sup>1</sup> con alguna gente, en donde se han bautizado 7 almas entre viejos enfermos y parvulos. Aqui hemos comido, y habiendo salido á las 3 de la tarde hemos parado en el paraje llamado las Cruces, con animo de salir mañana á encontrar el rio de Sn<sup>a</sup> Joaq<sup>n</sup>, y subir por él hasta la ranch<sup>a</sup> llamada de los Passasimas. Andubimos en todo el dia 15 leg<sup>s</sup> navegando al S y SE.

Dia 22. Salimos á las 7 de la mañana, y á poco rato al rematar esta boca ó brazo en que venimos ayer se encuentra otra á mano izquierda que viene del NE. La dejamos, y seguimos al S y SE un cañon muy ancho que conduce al rio de Sn. Joaquin. Aqui se dividieron las lanch<sup>s</sup>. La del Sr. Com<sup>te</sup> se dirigio al O y NO para reconocer 2 ó 3 islas en que viven amadrigados unos fugitivos de Sn. Jose: y nosotros con la otra lancha tomamos el rumbo de S y SE. Subiendo el rio de Sn. Joaq<sup>n</sup> con deseos de reconocer las ranch<sup>s</sup> de los tulares. A las 4 leg<sup>s</sup> paramos en un altito fangoso á causa del extremado calor que enervaba á los remadores. Salimos á las 6 de la tarde con animo de andar toda la noche.

Dia 23. Hemos andado toda la noche menos algun rato de parada en la misma lancha, y á las 8 llegamos cerca de la rancheria de los Passasimas. A mano derecha hemos dexado esta noche la rancheria de los Notótemnes que ya estan Cristianos en Sn. Jose, los quales vivian casi en el centro del tular. A la izquierda hemos dexado á los Tauquimnes y Yatchícomnes, en cuyo lado viven los mencionados Passasimas, y un poco al NE de estos los Muquélemnes. Nos han salido á recibir algunos Passasimas de paz lo que no es de extrañar porque han estado muchas veces en la Mision, y hay algunos bautizados de ellos. Desp<sup>s</sup> de comer fuimos á pie á visitar unas casas de los mismos donde he bautizado 4 gentiles de 60 y 70 años. Y habiendoles

---

<sup>1</sup> Or read: *Quaypéms*.

with difficulty because of the many logs that there are. After going six leagues we came upon the village of the Guaypéms, with some people in it; and there seven souls amongst the old, the sick, and the infants, were baptized. Here we had lunch, and having set out at three o'clock in the afternoon, stopped at the place called Las Cruces, intending to start to-morrow to find the San Joaquín River, and to ascend it to the village called Ranchería de los Passasimas. In the whole day we travelled fifteen leagues, steering to the south and southeast.

1817  
May

May 22.—We started at seven o'clock in the morning, and in a little while, upon reaching the end of this stream or branch, which we entered yesterday, we found another on our left which comes from the northeast. We passed it and followed a very broad canyon to the south and southeast, leading to the San Joaquín River. Here the launches separated. That of the comandant headed to the west and northwest to explore two or three islands where some fugitives from San José are living together in hiding. We, with the other launch, took a course to the south and southeast, ascending the San Joaquín River, being desirous of exploring the villages of the tule regions. After going four leagues we stopped at a miry little resting-place, because of the extreme heat which enervated the rowers. We started at six o'clock in the afternoon intending to travel all night.

May 23.—We have travelled all night, except for a brief stop in the launch itself, and at eight o'clock drew near the village of the Passasimas. During the night we passed on our right the village of the Notótemnes who have already become Christians at San José; they used to live almost in the center of the tule region. On our left we passed the Tauquimnes and Yatchícomnes; the said Passasimas live on that side, with the Muquélemnes a little to the northeast of them. Some Passasimas came out to receive us in a peaceful manner, which is not surprising, because they have been at the mission many times, and some of them have been baptized. After lunch, we went on foot to visit some houses of the same people, and there I baptized four heathen, who were from sixty to seventy years of age. Having proclaimed

anunciado á Dios y la necesidad de pensar en hacerse Cristianos nos hemos vuelto á la lancha acompañados de los mismos gentiles. Aqui nos han renovado los cuentos de que en el otro lado de la Sierra nevada (de la q<sup>l</sup> distaríamos 10 leg<sup>s</sup>) hay gente de razon, sin poder atar cabos como queda dicho en el dia 20. A las 4 de la tarde nos embarcamos para volvernos por el mismo camino p<sup>r</sup> donde venimos; y á poca distancia nos aguardaban 113 gentiles entre Yatchicomnes y Muquelemnnes, la mitad de ellos pintados y armados en aspecto de guerra. Atracamos, y desp<sup>s</sup> de haberles hablado depusieron las armas y pidieron paz. Estos gentiles lo mas viven en tierra firme, y se les puede visitar á caballo si acaso fuere necesario. Llegan hasta la falda de la Sierra nevada, y dan noticia que lo que se ve blanquear es piedra y no nieve; aunq<sup>e</sup> lo mas cierto parece que la Sierra tiene nieve y piedra blanca q<sup>e</sup> lo parece. A las 6 nos despedimos de ellos regalandoles trigo &c, y prometiendonos que vendrian á pasear en la Mision. Lo andado ayer y la noche antecedente seran onze ó doce leg<sup>s</sup> con rumbo S. y SE. Echamos á andar toda la noche, rumbo N y NO.

Dia 24. Nos encontro el dia con poca diferencia en el paralelo de donde salimos el dia 22, y á las 8 llegamos al paraje que llaman los Meganos frente los julpunes, en donde hemos comido. Al medio dia salimos para juntarnos con el S<sup>r</sup> Comand<sup>te</sup> en el estrecho de los Chupcanes, á donde llegamos á las 6 de la tarde encontrando alli á dho. Sr. quien habia llegado por la mañana. Lo andado esta tarde es la embocadura de Sn. Joaq<sup>n</sup> y es menester andarla en marea alta porq<sup>e</sup> tiene barra, y se baran en ella las lanchas. La diferencia que se encuentra entre el Río del Sacramento y el de Sn. Joaq<sup>n</sup> es que este trae menos caudal de agua aunq<sup>e</sup> en algunos parajes es mas ancho, y todo lo que hemos andado no tiene mas que puro tule, sin tener un arbol en que el navegante encuentre una sombra, ni un palo



God to them, and the necessity of thinking about becoming Christians, we returned to the launch, accompanied by the self-same natives. Here they again told us the stories of there being civilized people on the other side of the Sierra Nevada (from which we should be ten leagues distant), without being able to verify the statements, as has been said on May 20th. At four o'clock in the afternoon we embarked to return by the same course by which we came. We had travelled but a short distance when we found waiting for us one hundred and thirteen natives, part Yatchicomnes and part Muquélemnnes, half of them painted and armed, with an aspect of war. We overtook them, and, after we had spoken to them, they put aside their arms and asked for peace. Most of these natives live on the mainland, and one may visit them on horseback, if, perchance, it should be necessary to do so. They reach to the slope of the Sierra Nevada, and inform us that that which appears white is rock and not snow, although it most certainly seems that the Sierra contains snow as well as white rock which looks like snow. At six o'clock we took leave of them, giving them wheat, etc., and they promised us that they would come on a trip to the mission. The distance travelled yesterday and last night is about eleven or twelve leagues, toward the south and southeast. We started to travel all night toward the north and northwest.

1817  
May

May 24.—At daybreak we were about at the same parallel as we were when we set out on May 22, and at eight o'clock we arrived at the place called Los Méganos in front of Los Julpunes, where we had breakfast. At midday we set out to join the commandant at the strait of the Chupcanes, which we reached at six o'clock in the afternoon, finding the said gentleman there; he had arrived in the morning. We travelled this afternoon as far as the mouth of the San Joaquín. It is necessary to pass this at high tide, because there is a sand-bar, and the launches are blocked by it. There is this difference between the Sacramento and San Joaquín; the latter carries less volume of water, although in some places it is wider, and in all that part which we have travelled there is nothing but tule, without a tree under which the navigator may find shade, nor a stick of fire-

de leña para calentarse. Al contrario el del Sacram<sup>to</sup> quando no derrama tiene tierras secas en ambas riberas, pobladas de alamedas como queda dicho, y parece que trae mas copia de agua. Lo andado en la noche antecedente y en este dia son 20 leg<sup>s</sup> rumbo al N. NO. y O.

D[ia] 25. Amanecio dia de Pentecostes y se dijo Misa Cantada: desp<sup>s</sup> de la q<sup>l</sup> paraq<sup>e</sup> en los dos dias sig<sup>tes</sup> no careciese de Misa el Pres<sup>o</sup> salimos á las 9 con viento de proa y bastante marejada durante todo el Estrecho, que tendra 2 leguas de largo, y media poco mas ó menos de ancho. En saliendo de este la mar estubo buena, y á las 3 de la tarde llegamos á un paraje llamado punta de Olegario cerca la Isla de los Angeles en donde hemos parado habiendo andado unas 10 leguas rumbo SO.

Dia 26. A las 2 de la mañana antes de acabar de bajar la marea hemos pasado el boquete del Puerto, llegando casi al amanecer á la Playa del Pres<sup>o</sup>. Desp<sup>s</sup> de haber dicho Misa en este nos restituimos á la Mision de N. P. Sn. Fran<sup>co</sup> con toda felicidad gracias al Sr. de quien sea la gloria por los siglos de los siglos Amen.

FR. NARCISO DURAN.  
(rúbrica)

wood with which to warm himself; whereas the Sacramento, when it is not flooded, has dry land on both banks covered with poplar groves, as has been said, and it seems to carry a greater abundance of water. Last night and to-day we travelled twenty leagues toward the north, northwest, and west. 1817  
May

May 25.—The day of Pentecost dawned and a mass was sung; after this, in order that the presidio might not be without a mass for the two days following, we set out at nine o'clock with a head wind and a considerable head sea which lasted through the whole strait; the strait is about two leagues long, and a little more or less than half that in width. As we came out of this the sea became calm, and at three o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at a place called the Punta de Olegario near the Isla de los Angeles where we stopped, having travelled some ten leagues toward the southwest.

May 26.—At two o'clock in the morning, before the tide stopped going out, we passed the entrance of the port, arriving almost at dawn at the beach of the presidio. After having said mass there, we returned to the mission of our father San Francisco, with all felicity, thanks to the Lord, to whom be the glory forever and ever. Amen.

FRAY NARCISO DURAN.  
(rubric)







# PUBLICATIONS OF THE ACADEMY OF PACIFIC COAST HISTORY.

## VOLUME 1.

1. The San Francisco Clearing House Certificates of 1907-1908, by CARL COPPING PLEHN, Professor of Finance, University of California. 14 pages and plate. January, 1909.
2. The official account of the Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770, edited by FREDERICK J. TEGGART, Curator, Academy of Pacific Coast History. 15 pages and plate. August, 1909.
3. Diary of Gaspar de Portolá during the California Expedition of 1769-1770, edited by DONALD EUGENE SMITH, Assistant Professor of History and Geography, University of California, and FREDERICK J. TEGGART, Curator, Academy of Pacific Coast History. 59 pages and plate. October, 1909.
4. The Narrative of the Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770 by Miguel Costansó, edited by ADOLPH VAN HEMERT-ENGELT, Assistant in the Academy of Pacific Coast History, and FREDERICK J. TEGGART, Curator, Academy of Pacific Coast History. 69 pages and plate. March, 1910.
5. The United States Consulate in California, by RAYNER WICKERSHAM KELSEY. 107 pages. June, 1910.
6. Diary of Patrick Breen, one of the Donner Party, 1846-1847, edited by FREDERICK J. TEGGART, Curator, Academy of Pacific Coast History. 16 pages and plate. July, 1910.
7. Papers of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851, I., edited by PORTER GARNETT, Assistant Curator, Academy of Pacific Coast History. 69 pages and plate. July, 1910.

PRICE: In parts as issued, with title-page, table of contents, and index ..... \$2.50  
 Sewed (paper covers) ..... \$2.75  
 Bound in blue cloth ..... \$3.00

## VOLUME 2.

1. The Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770—Diary of Vicente Vila, Commander of the *San Carlos*, edited by ROBERT SELDEN ROSE, Assistant in Spanish, University of California. 119 pages and plate. July, 1911.
2. Papers of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851, II., edited by PORTER GARNETT, Assistant Curator, Academy of Pacific Coast History. 19 pages and plate. July, 1911.
3. Expedition to San Francisco Bay in 1770—Diary of Pedro Fages, edited by HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON, Professor of American History, University of California. 19 pages. July, 1911.
4. The Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770—Diary of Miguel Costansó, edited by FREDERICK J. TEGGART, Curator, Academy of Pacific Coast History. 167 pages. August, 1911.
5. Expedition on the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers in 1817—Diary of Fray Narciso Durán, edited by CHARLES EDWARD CHAPMAN, Assistant in the Academy of Pacific Coast History. 21 pages. December, 1911.





# THE FOUNDING OF SAN FRANCISCO

By

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

COMPLIMENTS OF  
CHARLES E. CHAPMAN

REPRINTED FROM "THE PACIFIC OCEAN IN HISTORY"  
BY H. MORSE STEPHENS AND HERBERT E. BOLTON.  
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, PUBLISHERS, NEW YORK



## THE FOUNDING OF SAN FRANCISCO

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN

So far as concerns local events preliminary to the founding of San Francisco and those contemporary with it, Hubert Howe Bancroft and, more recently, Zoeth Skinner Eldredge<sup>1</sup> have written in such detail that it would be hardly worth while to attempt to supplement their accounts. Something may be said, however, of the attitude of the Spanish government with regard to settlement of San Francisco, and it is to that phase of the subject that this paper will be devoted, summarizing the correspondence of the viceroy of New Spain with the government in Spain, on the one hand, and, to a less extent, with officials in California, on the other. Events in connection with the founding will be given only in bare outline.<sup>2</sup>

The first Europeans to sail along the coast of California were Spaniards under Cabrillo and Ferrelo, 1542-43. In upward of two centuries following, a number of others passed along this coast, Drake in 1579, and Vizcaíno in 1602-3, coming from the south, and an unrecorded number of galleons from Manila, sailing southward to Acapulco. No settlements were made, but the coast line from Cape Mendocino to Cape San Lucas became fairly well known in a general way, with one striking exception, — none of these voyagers, so far as can be learned, ever noted the Golden Gate and the great bay behind it. This has caused some writers to assert that the bay did not exist, when Drake landed not far from where it now is, but was formed later by what must have been a truly wonderful and beneficent convulsion of nature.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Beginnings of San Francisco* (2 vols., San Francisco, 1912).

<sup>2</sup> Most of the materials quoted in this paper are to be found in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville, Spain. Other materials are in the Archivo General y Público and the Museo Nacional of Mexico, and in the Academy of Pacific Coast History.

<sup>3</sup> The latest proponent of this view is Mrs. Gertrude Atherton in her work called *California: an Intimate History* (New York and London, 1914).

At any rate, discovery of San Francisco Bay was postponed until 1769, when Gaspar de Portolá led the first expedition by land to California. Scarcity of provisions and consequent necessity of returning to San Diego prevented exploration of the bay by Portolá. A year later, in November, 1770, Pedro Fages paid a brief visit to San Francisco Bay, coming overland from Monterey, but made no extensive exploration. A letter by Rivera, an officer with Portolá, to Viceroy Croix, March 2, 1770, indicates the impression caused by the discovery upon those who took part in it. He expressed an opinion that the newly-discovered port, if deep enough, might prove to be better than the one at San Diego. It also had all necessary requisites as a site for settlement.<sup>1</sup>

News of the discovery had hardly been received in Mexico when Croix gave orders, November 12, 1770, for a thorough exploration of the port, and establishment of a mission on its shores to secure it from occupation by another power. The order was received in May, 1771, but Fages regarded it as impossible of fulfilment, because of the great number of Indians in California, and his inability to furnish troops for mission guards, without which missions could not be founded.<sup>2</sup> This drew forth a long letter of complaint from the Father President of the California missions, Junípero Serra, to the viceroy, June 18, 1771. He believed the delay unnecessary.<sup>3</sup>

The Fages and Serra letters must have reached Mexico at about the time when a new viceroy took possession of the government of New Spain, Antonio María Bucarely y Ursúa, one of the greatest rulers that New Spain ever had. Bucarely came to power in September, 1771. For nearly two years thereafter, he was concerned so far as California affairs went, primarily with maintaining what had already been established, and seeking information upon which to base measures for advancing the conquest. In both respects he encountered difficulties. As late as February 24, 1773, Bucarely wrote to Julián de Arriaga, Spanish minister of the Indies, that affairs in the new establishments were in a

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Gen. y Púb., Californias, vol. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Fages to Croix, June 20, 1771. Arch. Gen. y Púb., Californias, vol. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Arch. Gen. y Púb., Californias, vol. 66.

deplorable state. Discord between Fages and the missionaries was so great, and desertions of soldiers so numerous, that early ruin of the settlements might be expected.<sup>1</sup>

Clearly, not much progress with the formation of San Francisco could be expected under these circumstances. Something, however, had been attempted in March and April, 1772, when Fages made an overland expedition to the bay. He attempted to get around it, but failed, and returned to Monterey. He had made no examination of the bay itself, the merits of which as a port remained unknown.

By the middle of the year 1773 Bucarely had become sufficiently well informed to commence a series of measures, of which the founding of San Francisco formed a part, all based upon the single idea of precaution against possibility of foreign attack upon the Pacific coast of New Spain, particularly by Russia, of whose activities in the far northwest greatly exaggerated reports had been received. No attempt can be made here to trace the course of these measures, except those directly affecting San Francisco, but it would give a false perspective to the subject in hand, if they were passed by without mention. The following are the measures referred to :

On July 23, 1773, a provisional *reglamento*, or instrument of government, for the two Californias,<sup>2</sup> to which Bucarely had devoted considerable attention for several months, received official sanction by his decree. It was supplemented on August 17 by instructions to Fernando Rivera, who was to lead some soldier-settlers up Baja California to Monterey, and succeed Fages in command of the new establishments.

On September 13 an expedition under Juan Bautista de Anza was authorized to seek an overland route from Sonora to Monterey, the land route to California never having been traversed by Spaniards. The expedition started in January, 1774, achieved its purpose, and returned to Sonora in May.

From December, 1773, to March, 1774, Agustín Crame was employed upon an exploration of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec

<sup>1</sup> A. G. de I., 103-6-16.

<sup>2</sup> To wit, what is now American California and Baja California of Mexico. These were nominally one government under Spain, though in fact under separate rule.

to see if a suitable route for transportation of artillery might be found. Crame reported the finding of such a route.

More insistent reports of Russian aggression having been received in July, 1773, a voyage of exploration under Juan Pérez to the far northwest was soon decided upon. Pérez left San Blas in January, 1774, got to about 55° without seeing any Russians, but also without satisfactorily examining the coast, and reached San Blas again in November.

Another voyage was at once prepared, and was able to leave port in March, 1775. One ship under Heceta got to about 49° and the other under Bodega to 58°. A somewhat better exploration of the coast was made than on the previous voyage, but again no Russians were found. By November both ships were back at San Blas.

A second Anza expedition was authorized in November, 1774, to go by the newly-discovered overland route to California. Not only were settlers for San Francisco to form part of the expedition, but domestic animals were also to be taken along, there being great need of them in California in order to ensure permanence of the settlements. Anza left Sonora in October, 1775, and reached Monterey in March, 1776.

In addition to these outstanding events there were many others related to the same idea of precaution against foreign attack, such as the sending of supply-ships to California (a vital matter), measures for internal development of the province and extension of religious conquest, plans for closing the gap between Sonora and California with missions and presidios, an attempt to find a route from New Mexico to California in 1776, preparations for a new series of voyages, and even reduction of the warlike Indians of the interior provinces. A number of Bucarely's letters might be cited both from his official correspondence with Arriaga and Gálvez, and from private correspondence with General Alejandro O'Reilly, to prove that these measures were part of an uniform plan to forestall foreign aggression, especially by the Russians.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Gálvez of June 26, 1776 (Arch. Gen. y Púb., Cor. Vir., series I, vol. 12, No. 2296), Bucarely mentions no less than forty-seven other letters bearing upon measures taken as against the Russian danger, the same measures as those referred to above. Nor were these all that he might have included; for example, his letter No. 1562 (A. G. de I., Estado, Aud. Mex., 1, Doc. 10), though not included in the list just mentioned is decidedly in point. The O'Reilly corre-

We may now proceed with measures looking to the foundation of San Francisco in part fulfillment of the plan.

The instruction to Rivera, the newly-appointed commandant of California, August 17, 1773, called upon him to make an early exploration of the port of San Francisco, if further examination were necessary, and to consult with Father Serra about the founding of a mission there.<sup>1</sup> Plans soon developed for two missions at San Francisco, under protection of a military colony. Serra had asked for a number of new missions elsewhere in California. Writing to Arriaga, May 27, 1774, Bucarely announced himself as favorable, but the two at San Francisco should first be established, and a fresh exploration of the port be made.<sup>2</sup> In another letter of the same date he expressed a hope that the Anza and Rivera expeditions, which at last accounts were on the way respectively from Sonora and Baja California to California, might meet. In that case there would be men enough for exploration of San Francisco and establishment of one or more missions there. He was hoping to hear that it had been done.<sup>3</sup> Two days before, he had written to Father Palou of California to the same effect, and asked for detailed information of everything tending to such a result.<sup>4</sup> Anza left California, however, before Rivera got there; so the projected occupation of San Francisco was for the time delayed.

With the success of Anza's first expedition Bucarely began to plan another, even before he learned of Anza's return. One of the objects of the new expedition, he wrote to Arriaga, September 28, 1774, was to bring about occupation of San Francisco.<sup>5</sup> In a letter dated September 26, he wrote of Rivera's proposed transfer of the presidio of Monterey to another site away from the coast. Bucarely was inclined to favor the plan, assigning as one of his reasons the greater nearness of the new site to San Francisco.<sup>6</sup> Bucarely was also planning a sea expedition under

spondence is in A. G. de I., 88-5-17, comprising most of the *legajo*. Bucarely was in the habit of writing once a month to O'Reilly, and several of his letters refer to the acts noticed above as having been done by way of precaution against the Russians.

<sup>1</sup> A. G. de I., 104-6-16.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 104-6-15.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Bucarely to Palou, May 25, 1774, in Palou, *Noticias* (San Francisco, 1874), pp. 254-257.

<sup>5</sup> A. G. de I., Estado, Aud. Mex., 1, Doc. 10.

<sup>6</sup> A. G. de I., 104-6-17.

Miguel Manrique for exploration of the port. Manrique's ship, wrote Bucarely, November 26, 1774, was to leave San Blas early in 1775, going as far as California with the boats to be employed in northwestward explorations, and entering San Francisco Bay. "I regard the occupation of this port as indispensable," continued Bucarely, "and to facilitate it I intend that Anza, who is now at this capital, shall return to Sonora and make a second expedition."<sup>1</sup>

All of Bucarely's measures, except the proposed transfer of Monterey, were approved by Arriaga.<sup>2</sup> In several cases the latter had referred Bucarely's letters to José de Gálvez, whose experience as *visitador* in New Spain, when he had caused occupation of California, qualified him to give expert advice. In one of Gálvez's replies, written March 8, 1774, before he had heard of the first Anza expedition, the former *visitador* recommended that communications with California be established from Sonora and New Mexico, especially with Monterey and San Francisco, which ought to be secured at all costs.<sup>3</sup>

Anza got to Mexico City in November, 1774. During that month and the first half of the next the preliminary arrangements for his new expedition were made, a detailed plan of its composition, equipment, and objects being drawn up, and necessary approval by the authorities of the viceroyalty obtained. The occupation of San Francisco being one of the principal objects of the expedition, that matter was referred to many times. Perhaps it will be enough here, however, to cite Bucarely's letter of December 27, telling what he had done to bring about establishment of more missions in California, especially two at San Francisco. Recognizing the importance of furthering the conquest in that province, he had planned a second expedition from Sonora to California under Anza, the latter to take as many soldiers as necessary for escort of the San Francisco missions, and to erect a monument there to indicate that the land belonged to Spain. The expedition had just been authorized. Anza was to recruit

<sup>1</sup> A. G. de I., Estado, Aud. Mex., 1, Doc. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Arriaga to Bucarely, September 22, 1774. A. G. de I., 104-6-15. Same to same, May 14, 1775. A. G. de I., 104-6-17. This letter also disapproved the transfer of Monterey. A positive command against removal appears in Gálvez to Bucarely, April 10, 1776, A. G. de I., 104-6-17.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 104-6-16.



thirty persons, aiming to get married people, and take them, their wives, and children to the port of San Francisco, with a view to founding a goodly colony there, not only to guard that place, but also to serve as a base for future settlements. Others were to go with the expedition, but only the thirty families were destined for San Francisco. Erection of the missions had been assigned to Serra, and instructions had been given to Rivera requiring him to lend aid. Then followed details about expense, much of which had to come from the royal treasury. The missionaries were to be found among the supernumerary religious in California.<sup>1</sup> Another letter of December 27 apprised Arriaga of plans for the 1775 voyages of exploration. Not only was Manrique to explore San Francisco Bay, but Heceta had also been ordered to do so, upon his return from the north. At that time it was possible that Anza's troops might already have arrived.<sup>2</sup> Arriaga's approvals for these measures were as usual forthcoming.<sup>3</sup>

Appropriate orders having been given to Anza, corresponding instructions were sent to Rivera and Serra. On December 15, 1774, Bucarely informed Rivera of the projected Anza expedition. For use of Anza's settlers he was sending by sea an extra stock of provisions, which were on no account to be diverted to any other use. The troops brought by Anza were to be under Rivera's command from the moment they reached Monterey, although Anza was to assist in the exploration of the river emptying into San Francisco Bay. Not only were there to be two missions at San Francisco, but also a presidio between them and near the coast, to aid them the more readily in case their escort of six soldiers each should not suffice.<sup>4</sup> There was much in this letter concerning the reasons for desiring settlements at San Francisco, such as its importance for future conquests, and the relations of Rivera and Serra in regard to the foundation, but these remarks add nothing to what has already been ascribed to Bucarely in other references to his correspondence. A letter in almost identical terms was addressed to Serra on the same day.<sup>5</sup> Another letter

<sup>1</sup> A. G. de I., 104-6-16.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Estado, Aud. Mex., 1, Doc. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Arriaga to Bucarely, May 15, 1775, A. G. de I., 104-6-16. Same to same, June 23, 1775, A. G. de I., Estado, Aud. Mex., 1, Doc. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Acad. Pac. Coast Hist., Prov. St. Papers, Ben. Mis., vol. 2, pp. 20-25.

<sup>5</sup> Acad. Pac. Coast Hist., Arch. Mis., vol. 1, pp. 49-56.

to Rivera, January 2, 1775, repeated directions as to location of the fort, and ordered that a separate account be kept of expense incurred in occupying San Francisco.<sup>1</sup>

Serra clearly was ready to support the project for missions at San Francisco. On September 9, 1774, he wrote to Bucarely complaining of Pérez, who had just returned from his voyage to the northwest, and Rivera for not helping to found the two missions at once. Pérez insisted on returning to San Blas, after an earlier promise to lend his aid, and Rivera claimed that he did not have troops enough.<sup>2</sup>

It is not unlikely that Rivera's caution was justified. In all California between San Diego and Monterey there were but eighty soldiers in two presidios and five missions, holding in check many thousands of Indians. That these Indians were not as docile as commonly supposed, is amply proved by two very remarkable documents that may be referred to in passing. One is a memorial by Pedro Fages dated at Mexico, November 30, 1775,<sup>3</sup> and the other an account by the religious of the College of San Fernando, Mexico, February 26, 1776, of discoveries from 1769 to 1776 between 30° 26' and 57° 18'.<sup>4</sup> Both discuss at great length the affairs of California, the Fages report being particularly devoted to characterization of the Indians. Both documents show clearly that it was only by military force, small as were Spanish numbers, that the province was held at all.

The families originally recruited by Rivera for California did not reach San Diego until September 26, 1774, several months after the arrival of their commander and after the date of Serra's letter of complaint just quoted. Rivera now felt strong enough to attempt the oft-enjoined exploration of San Francisco's port. He headed a party which left Monterey on November 23. The expedition got within the limits of the modern city of San Francisco, planting a cross on the hill overlooking the Seal Rocks, but

<sup>1</sup> Acad. Pac. Coast Hist., Prov. St. Papers, vol. 1, pp. 166-167.

<sup>2</sup> A. G. de I., Estado, Aud. Guad., 1, Doc. 9. Both the Spanish and a translation to English appear in Historical Society of Southern California, *Publications*, vol. 2, pp. 73-80.

<sup>3</sup> A. G. de I., 104-6-17.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* Both the Fages and the San Fernando documents are considered in Chapman, *Importance of the military in early Spanish settlements of California*, in the *Grizzly Bear Magazine* of Los Angeles for December, 1915.

encountered the early winter rains, and returned to Monterey without having accomplished anything, arriving December 13.<sup>1</sup> Commenting upon the expedition in a letter to Bucarely, January 8, 1775, Serra showed less enthusiasm than before for the San Francisco missions, but it was only because he wanted four others to complete the chain between San Diego and Monterey, with a corresponding increase in the military establishment.<sup>2</sup>

Upon hearing of the Rivera expedition Bucarely wrote to Rivera<sup>3</sup> and Serra,<sup>4</sup> both letters being dated May 24, 1775, and substantially the same in content. He realized that the Rivera expedition of the preceding November had come at a bad time of year for establishment of missions, but wished Rivera to continue his efforts to find sites for them. It would be well to found the missions that Serra had asked for, but establishment of the fort and two missions at San Francisco was the most important consideration. Both men were bidden to act in harmony with each other. Bucarely's letter to Arriaga, May 27, 1775, was of much the same tenor. Anza and Ayala had been given orders to occupy San Francisco, he said.<sup>5</sup>

Ayala had succeeded Manrique in command of the *San Carlos*, destined to explore San Francisco Bay, Manrique having become insane.<sup>6</sup> The *San Carlos* left San Blas on March 16,<sup>7</sup> proceeded to California, and was in San Francisco Bay all of August and most of September, 1775. Ayala found that there was a practicable entrance, and as he reported, not merely one port within, but many. Rivera had been ordered to coöperate with a land expedition, and the two were to erect buildings for the settlers that were to come with Anza, but as some of Rivera's soldiers were temporarily absent, he was unwilling to draw more from his presidio, and remained at Monterey. Meanwhile, Heceta, returning from the north, missed the entrance to San Francisco Bay, and went on to Monterey. Rivera's garrison was by that time at its full

<sup>1</sup> For both the Rivera and Palou diaries, A. G. de I., 104-6-16. The latter is also in Palou, *Noticias* (San Francisco, 1874), vol. 3, pp. 264-315.

<sup>2</sup> A. G. de I., 104-6-16.

<sup>3</sup> Acad. Pac. Coast Hist., Prov. St. Papers, vol. 1, pp. 171-174.

<sup>4</sup> Mus. Nac., Docs. Rel. Mis. Cal., Octavo Series.

<sup>5</sup> A. G. de I., 104-6-16.

<sup>6</sup> Bucarely to Arriaga, March 27, 1775, A. G. de I., Estado, Aud. Mex., 1, Doc. 16.

<sup>7</sup> A. G. de I., Estado, Aud. Mex., 1, Doc. 15.

strength. Heceta, therefore, procured troops, and made an overland trip to San Francisco and back. He reached San Francisco just after Ayala's departure, and remained but two days before returning. The trip had occupied from September 14 to October 1. Neither the buildings for Anza's settlers nor the missions had been erected, but there was no longer any doubt of the value of the port.

Ayala brought news of these events to the viceroy, reaching San Blas, November 6, 1775. On the 9th he wrote to Bucarely about his exploration of San Francisco Bay, saying that it was the best port that he had seen from Cape Horn north.<sup>1</sup> Bucarely also received a report and description of the bay of date September 7, 1775, by Cañizares, Ayala's pilot.<sup>2</sup> In forwarding copies of these two documents to Arriaga, November 26, 1775, Bucarely spoke with satisfaction of the peaceful character of the Indians at San Francisco, the excellence of its port, and the adaptability of the site for settlement. There was plenty of fresh water, firewood, and stone, and the climate was cold, but healthful, and free from the fogs that Monterey experienced.<sup>3</sup>

As already noted, Rivera had failed to coöperate with Ayala in his exploration. It is doubtful if he would have, even had all his soldiers been present. At any rate, he wrote to Bucarely, August 8, 1775, shortly after Ayala's departure for San Francisco, that he intended to postpone exploration there until Anza's arrival, when he would erect the fort and two missions. At the fort he intended to install two of the cannon then at Monterey. Bucarely replied January 20, 1776. At that late date there was nothing to do but to approve.<sup>4</sup> We may now turn our attention to the second Anza expedition, from which so much was expected.

The details of the expedition itself may be referred to briefly. As the expedition left Horcasitas it contained 238 persons. Anza was to make a very remarkable march indeed, for this large party, travelling on a route which led across the Colorado Desert, had actually increased in number by the time it reached California.

<sup>1</sup> A. G. de I., Estado, Aud. Mex., 1, Doc. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Later experience would hardly sustain the viceroy as regards the fogs.

<sup>4</sup> Acad. Pac. Coast Hist., Prov. St. Papers, vol. 1, pp. 193-194.

Eight children were born during the march. Only one death occurred, and that at the outset, — a woman in child-birth. The most significant part of the force was the thirty soldiers and their families intended as a garrison for San Francisco. Over a thousand domestic animals were taken along, about a third of them being for the new colony of San Francisco. All equipment was at government expense, from a horse or a gun to a piece of ribbon. Each family of settlers was to get pay for two years and rations for five, involving an expense of about \$800 a family, — high evidence of the importance of the colony, when one considers how scantily Spain dealt out funds for her colonies, if the return were not to be immediate or certain.

The expedition left Horcasitas, Sonora, on September 29, 1775, but was not fairly under way until October 23, when it left Tubac. On November 28 it had reached the junction of the Gila and Colorado rivers, and on January 4, 1776, was at San Gabriel mission, near the modern Los Angeles.

A considerable delay now occurred owing to an Indian outbreak at San Diego, which Anza's presence helped to quell, although he was not obliged to strike a blow.<sup>1</sup> The revolt affected the foundation of San Francisco, for Rivera was now unwilling to coöperate to that end, feeling that troops could not be spared. Anza was eager to fulfill his orders, however, and relations between the two officers got to be far from cordial. Anza, therefore, proceeded alone to Monterey, arriving March 10. Between March 23 and April 8 he led a party which made a thorough examination of the site of San Francisco, and proceeded around the bay through present-day Oakland and Berkeley to the San Joaquin River before turning back. His examination of San Francisco had proved it to be a very satisfactory site, but no buildings had been erected, and the settlers remained at Monterey. He himself soon returned to Mexico.

Bucarely expressed himself as much displeased, when he learned that the foundation of San Francisco had not taken place. The failure had been caused, he said, in a letter to Gálvez, August 27, 1776, by Rivera, due to his belief in the greater importance of the San Diego affair, nor did Bucarely hold Anza entirely blameless.

<sup>1</sup> Bucarely to Arriaga, March 27, 1776, A. G. de I., 104-6-17.

He had written to both, telling them that they had acted improperly in not making the San Francisco establishments. Governor Neve of Baja California, who previously had been ordered to change places with Rivera, was going there in good time, thought Bucarely. Bucarely had told him how annoyed he was by the dissension between Anza and Rivera, which had caused a partial failure of his plans, and had charged him that the foundation of San Francisco was to be preferred to all else.<sup>1</sup>

Rivera had refused to coöperate with Anza in establishing the new colony, but later took steps to bring about the foundation. While in San Diego on May 8 he sent an order to José Moraga, an officer and settler who had come with Anza, to proceed to San Francisco and erect a fort. Moraga's force, including the settlers and their families and Fathers Palou and Cambón, proceeded to San Francisco, and reached there on June 27. They passed the first "Fourth of July" there, unaware how near they had come to selecting a resounding date for their arrival. Meanwhile, the work of erecting buildings went on, and on September 17, 1776, a formal ceremony took place to indicate that the presidio of San Francisco had begun its official existence. On October 9 there was another solemn function, this time to signalize the founding of the mission San Francisco de Asís, now more commonly called Mission Dolores.

It was not for several months that news got to Mexico of the foundation of San Francisco. Meanwhile, Bucarely's letters made frequent references to the northern port. On July 27, 1776, Bucarely wrote to Gálvez of measures taken in view of the gradual filling in of the port of San Blas. The nearby ports of Chacala and Matanchel were better than San Blas, but he was not in favor of immediate removal. If voyages of discovery were to be continued, either Trinidad, Guatemala, or San Francisco, California, would be a better location for a marine department.<sup>2</sup> Gálvez's reply, January 9, 1777, is interesting. Continue the department at San Blas, he said, until that port becomes wholly useless; then move it temporarily to Acapulco; finally, let it be established in some good port of California.<sup>3</sup> In a letter of

<sup>1</sup> A. G. de I., 104-6-17. Gálvez had succeeded Arriaga in January, upon the death of the latter.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 104-5-24.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

August 27, 1776, Bucarely told of ordering some domestic animals sent from certain Baja California missions to California. Neve was to distribute them as he saw fit, giving San Francisco the preference, however.<sup>1</sup> At length, news of the founding of San Francisco reached the viceroy, and details of the event were recounted by him in a letter of November 26, 1776, to Gálvez.<sup>2</sup>

Three of Bucarely's letters to Gálvez of December 27, 1776, contain references to San Francisco that may be worthy of record. Boats were so few on the Pacific that there was grave question for a time whether enough supplies could be sent to California for the year 1777. Bucarely had decided to send them first to San Francisco, preferring that to San Diego, both because it was new, and because there were more soldiers and settlers there.<sup>3</sup> Another letter announced the return of the *San Carlos* from San Francisco, bringing news of the rapid progress of this place.<sup>4</sup> Great as had been that progress, wrote Bucarely in a third letter, he was taking no chance of a possible decline. A surgeon, carpenter, mason, and smith were being sought in Mexico City to send there, and a quantity of clothing, tools, and other utensils and effects, especially those for agricultural uses, were being sent to San Blas by forced marches for shipment to San Francisco. News had come that provisions were short there, wherefore Bucarely had ordered the *Santiago* to sail direct for that port, without the usual previous stops at San Diego and Monterey.<sup>5</sup>

One more document may be cited, Bucarely's instruction of December 25, 1776, to Felipe Neve for his guidance as governor of California. San Francisco is mentioned a number of times in this document. The information embodied in Bucarely's last-quoted letter appears also in the instructions. Besides, there were paragraphs concerning promised shipments of church utensils, another about adding to the buildings at San Francisco, another about appointment of a more competent store-keeper than Hermenegildo Sal, the incumbent, and another stating that a second mission ought to be erected.<sup>6</sup>

Thus we have seen how prominent a place the foundation and progress of San Francisco occupied in the viceroy's eyes. Nor

<sup>1</sup> A. G. de I., 104-6-18.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

was it confined to him; with the single exception of the proposed removal of Monterey, his superiors in Spain sustained him in every project that he advanced of those mentioned in this paper.<sup>1</sup> Much had been due, however, to the eager insistence of the viceroy himself. With the opening of the year 1777 a new hand was to direct the affairs of California, that province having been included in the new government of the frontier provinces under the inefficient Teodoro de Croix. Thus, though California had in Neve perhaps its most able Spanish governor, projects of conquest declined, and advancement of San Francisco got little attention. It had been otherwise under Bucarely. When the great city by the Golden Gate shall cast about for an early hero, let her consider the great viceroy, Bucarely, for to him more than to any one else is due the foundation of San Francisco and preservation of the settlement in its time of precarious beginnings.

<sup>1</sup> The following approvals not already referred to, may be noted, all citations being to A. G. de I.: By Arriaga, September 6, 1775, 104-6-16; July 8, 1775, Estado, Aud. Mex., 1, Doc. 16; by Gálvez, December 24, 1776, 104-6-17; January 9, February 18, and two of March 19, 1777, all four in 104-6-18.







# The Founding of the Review

By  
CHARLES E. CHAPMAN

COMPLIMENTS OF  
CHARLES E. CHAPMAN

*Reprinted from The Hispanic American Historical Review,  
Vol. I, No. 1, February, 1918*





## THE FOUNDING OF THE REVIEW

The founding of the HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW is the natural result of the growing demand for a periodical which could supply the technical needs of students in the Hispanic-American field. Not only was there no single periodical adequate to their purpose among the many devoted in whole or in part to the southern countries of the Americas, but indeed in all of them together there was hardly enough material of the kind which the historical investigator would require.<sup>1</sup> There was no medium for articles which would not find a ready acceptance in existing periodicals of history, and especially was it true that none of the latter provided the bibliographical and other technical information about Hispanic America which is almost a prerequisite to the successful handling of this largely unorganized field. There seemed to be a general agreement, too, that Hispanic America itself and the relations of the United States with, and with regard to, the lands composing it were of enough consequence to merit the publication of a review, and it was everywhere asserted, with evident justice, that the field was a growing one, responding to the ever greater importance attached in this country to questions having to do with our neighbors in the south.

Such was the nature of the remarks between individuals in this field, but in 1915 an exceptional opportunity was presented for a more general exchange of views. In that year a special session of the American Historical Association was held at San Francisco and the neighboring university towns of Berkeley and Palo Alto in connection with the Panama Pacific Exposition. As appears from the papers published in the memorial volume of that meet-

<sup>1</sup> It will not come as a surprise to a number that the *Christian Science Monitor* has been regarded by some of our leading experts as the best working tool in existence on Hispanic America. With all due respect to the excellent Boston publication it would seem that history men should have an organ a little more akin to their profession.

ing,<sup>2</sup> the whole tenor of the occasion was distinctly Hispanic, reflecting the activity of the historians of the Pacific Coast and the Southwest in precisely those fields of history which bear a close relation to the colonial endeavors of Spain. The presence of the distinguished Spanish historian, Rafael Altamira, perhaps the most widely known of the invited guests from foreign countries, was an added factor tending in the same direction. It was Señor Altamira, indeed, who suggested the founding of just such a periodical as is now being launched, and the matter was informally discussed, although no definite steps were taken. In the following year it chanced that Dr. William Spence Robertson and the writer represented, respectively, the universities of Illinois and California at the American Congress of Bibliography and History held in Buenos Aires to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the Argentine Declaration of Independence (July 9, 1816). Perhaps the principal result of the congress was the expression of a desire for the publication of a bibliographical periodical which would enable students to know what scholarly work was being done in all branches of learning in the various countries of the Americas. It was also hoped that such a periodical might be published in each country. In accord with the spirit of the congress and having regard to the facts as they were in the United States, Doctor Robertson and the writer decided to make a formal proposal to the history profession in our country for the founding of a review to be a little less broadly inclusive than the one suggested at Buenos Aires, to deal with Hispanic-American history. In conversations with the leaders of the congress, they announced their intention, and received the hearty indorsement of these men. Thereupon they sent a communication to the *American Historical Review* which was printed in the number for October, 1916. The communication follows:

<sup>2</sup> *The Pacific Ocean in history*, ed. by H. Morse Stephens and Herbert E. Bolton. New York. 1917.

*An Ibero-American Historical Review*

*To the Managing Editor of The American Historical Review:*

DEAR SIR: The undersigned wish to suggest to the American Historical Association, through the *Review*, that a section should be devoted at the next meeting of the Association to a discussion of the feasibility of founding an *Ibero-American Historical Review*. They believe that the publication of such a review would be, possibly, the most practical method for North American historical scholars to coöperate with the permanent Congress and the American Bibliographical Institute which have just been established by the Congreso Americano de Bibliografía é Historia at Buenos Aires. In connection with the project to found a new historical review, the undersigned wish to make the following tentative suggestions:—

1. That the said review should be devoted to the history (political, economic, social, and diplomatic, as well as narrative) and institutions of Spain, Portugal, and the Latin-American states.

2. That it follow the general style and arrangement of the *American Historical Review*, but with more space allotted to bibliography.

3. That articles in Spanish and Portuguese be printed as well as those in English.

4. That the articles published be mainly those of such a character that they cannot find ready acceptance in the regional periodicals which already exist.

5. That members of the American Historical Association who may be interested in the project, kindly consider it before the December meeting, with special attention to its financial aspects.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON,  
CHARLES EDWARD CHAPMAN.

Doctor Robertson remained in South America for nearly a year thereafter, but the writer reached this country in November. Upon arrival in Washington he called upon Doctor Jameson, and learned that no definite action had been taken on the proposal. It therefore seemed clear that if anything was to be done, the writer would have to do it. He wishes particularly to acknowledge, however, the encouragement and wise counsel of Doctor Jameson, whose interest and aid have been steadfast throughout the period of the founding of the *Review*, and without which he most certainly would have failed of his purpose. At Doctor



Jameson's suggestion a request was made for a place on the program in the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, and a group dinner was arranged for the discussion of the project. While in Washington the writer called at the State and Treasury departments and at the Pan American Union, and received unofficial declarations of interest in the proposed Review. In New York Professor William R. Shepherd and Doctor Victor H. Paltsits were particularly helpful with suggestions. On November 25, the writer sent out seventy-two letters, nearly all to members of the history profession believed to have an interest in Hispanic-American studies. In this letter he called attention to the group dinner, invited the recipients to attend, and requested an answer expressing their views as to the idea. Little further action was taken until the meeting of the Association. Indeed, it seemed unwise to do much more until the idea should be indorsed; in particular, no attempt was made to procure funds. In the meantime, the writer went into the subject of expense, and procured data as to the probable annual cost of publication.

A surprisingly good record was made by the recipients of his letters. Sixty out of the seventy-two answered. Six opposed the project, eight were non-committal, and forty-six announced themselves in favor of it. Most of them discussed the financial problem, and it seemed to be the general opinion that this should be satisfactorily met before the Review should be launched. Another point taken up by them was that of the name of the magazine. Many objections were made to the term "Ibero-American," the original suggestion of Doctor Robertson and the writer. Among the other names proposed were the following: *Hispanic American Historical Review*; *Latin American Historical Review*; and variants of these titles, employing such words as "Journal of History", "Historical Journal", "Magazine of History", and "Historical Magazine". Only three of the men who opposed the founding of the Review stated the ground of their objection, and this was that there were not enough men or sufficient equipment in this country to provide first-class articles; one of the writers went so far as to say that there was not enough scholarship in the country to support the *American Historical Review*, let alone any

other historical periodical. On the other hand, most of the letters expressed the opinion that on that score there could be *no doubt* of the success of the Review. One of the prominent reasons for supporting it was because of the relationships it would engender with Hispanic America. Some viewed the matter from the standpoint of national affairs, and others from that of our associations with the historians of the southern countries. Several writers urged that articles by Hispanic Americans in their own tongue be printed frequently. A great many alluded to the purely professional advantages to our own men in the Hispanic-American field. Excerpts from specimen letters are given as an appendix to this article.

In the course of the sessions of the American Historical Association, held in 1916, at Cincinnati, the group dinner to discuss the project took place on the night of December 29 at the Hotel Gibson. Despite counter attractions, about thirty persons were present, two of whom were women. Among them were the following: Eugene C. Barker, Texas; E. J. Benton, Western Reserve; M. L. Bonham, Jr., Louisiana; M. L. Burr, Cornell; C. L. Chandler, South American representative of the Southern Railway, Chattanooga, Tenn., and Harvard; Charles E. Chapman, California; Arthur H. Clark, Cleveland, Ohio (publisher); Isaac J. Cox, Cincinnati; G. S. Godard, Hartford, Conn.; F. H. Hodder, Kansas; James A. James, Northwestern; J. F. Jameson, Managing Editor, *The American Historical Review* and Director of the Historical Research Department of Carnegie Institution of Washington; J. L. Kingsbury, Normal School, Kirksville, Mo.; J. G. McDonald, Indiana; T. M. Marshall, Idaho (now Colorado); T. P. Martin, Harvard; Miss Irene T. Myers, Lexington, Ky.; Victor H. Paltsits, New York Public Library; C. O. Paullin, Carnegie Institution of Washington; W. W. Pierson, Jr., North Carolina; T. C. Powell, vice-president Southern Railway system and member Railway Priority Board; James A. Robertson, Washington, D. C.; William L. Schurz, Michigan; Justin H. Smith, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. M. H. Stone, Saginaw, Mich.; Frederick J. Turner, Harvard; and R. G. Usher, Washington University, St. Louis. Attention should be called to the distinguished

character of those in attendance. Many of them were men of national reputation.

The writer asked Doctor Justin H. Smith to preside, and Doctor James A. Robertson (not to be confused with William Spence Robertson, who was still in South America) to act as secretary. The dinner over, the writer was called upon to outline the project for the Review. He did so, substantially as has been indicated thus far in this article. In commenting upon the communication signed by Doctor William Spence Robertson and himself he made the following additional suggestions: attention should be paid to social, economic, and political (including diplomatic) history as well as to the mere external narration of events, and some contemporary materials might be used from time to time; Hispanic America should be the principal field, but that ought to be interpreted as including the entire Caribbean area and those parts of the United States formerly under Spain and Mexico for the periods prior to their annexation to this country; articles on the Philippines, in so far as they related to things Spanish, might also be accepted; nevertheless, the review should in no sense compete with periodicals of history embracing the same areas within the United States, but, on the contrary, there should be a spirit of co-operation between the several boards of editors, for the new Review would rarely desire the articles which the others would prefer, and *vice versa*. Articles in French should be welcomed as well as those in Spanish and Portuguese.

At the conclusion of his address the writer offered a resolution in the following terms:

*"Resolved, by members and guests of the Amercian Historical Association gathered at the group dinner to discuss the project to found an Ibero-American Historical Review:*

*"That the general project for such a Review seems to them a desirable one, provided adequate financial backing can be procured."*

At the same time he submitted two motions, as follows:

*"That a committee of seven be chosen at this meeting, to be called the Committee on Organization, with power to take all steps which may in their judgment seem best to found a review coming within the general objects proposed in the project for an Ibero-American Historical Review, their power to include:*

“(a) A right and a duty to seek an endowment to guarantee its permanence.

“(b) A right to select a name for the periodical.

“(c) A right to define the initial editorial policy of the Review.

“(d) A right and a duty to provide for its initial organization and management.

“(e) A right to set the date when publication shall begin, provided that date be not later than January, 1918.

“(f) A right to dissolve without founding the Review.

“(g) A right and a duty to do anything else which may seem desirable or necessary.”

“That a committee of three be chosen, to be called the Nominating Committee, with a single function, to be exercised once only, *viz.*, a power, upon notification from the Committee on Organization, to make nominations for the first board of editors, who shall be elected in such manner as may be prescribed by the Committee on Organization.”

The writer explained that according to his views the first committee should be composed of men who were actively engaged in the Hispanic-American field, but the second should be made up of men of high standing in the profession who were not Hispanic Americanists; the latter committee he regarded as necessary in order to allow the members of the Committee on Organization to work with an entirely free hand, free from suspicion that they were striving in their own interests, and yet free, when the time should come, to accept an election to the board of editors. There was a great deal of enthusiastic discussion. Among others, Professors Barker, Bonham, Brandon, Burr, and Cox, and Doctors Chandler, Jameson, and Paltsits spoke on matters connected with the project, and all of them indorsed it heartily. The writer was asked to suggest names for the two committees, and did so, as follows:

For the Committee on Organization:

*East.*—James A. Robertson, Washington, D. C., chairman; William R. Shepherd, Columbia; Edward L. Stevenson, Hispanic Society; Hiram Bingham, Yale; Julius Klein, Harvard.

*Middle West.*—Isaac J. Cox, Cincinnati, or Roland G. Usher, Washington University.

*Far West.*—Herbert E. Bolton, California.

Doctor Cox withdrew his name, leaving that of Doctor Usher.

For the Nominating Committee: Doctor J. F. Jameson, Chairman; Professor Frederick J. Turner; and Doctor Justin H. Smith.

An amendment was made increasing the membership of the Committee on Organization to nine, and adding the names of C. L. Chandler and C. E. Chapman. On being put, the resolution and the two motions, with the names suggested and the amendment to the first motion, were carried unanimously. Other motions were also carried, as follows: that three members should constitute a quorum in the Committee on Organization; that on the death or resignation of any member of a committee the other members should be empowered to elect his successor; that Doctor Chapman be instructed to inform Doctor William Spence Robertson of the appreciation of those present of his scholarship and work; that a vote of thanks be extended to Doctors Chapman and Smith for their conduct of the meeting. An adjournment was then taken, and this very successful occasion was brought to a close. Truly, as the secretary expressed in the minutes, "The meeting was deeply enthusiastic and purposeful."<sup>3</sup>

A year has passed since the group dinner of December, 1916, a year which witnessed the breaking of diplomatic relations by our country with Germany, followed by our entrance into the great war. It was natural that the outbreak of war against such a powerful enemy should tend to check enterprises like that of the founding of a scholarly periodical not directly related to the conflict. Nevertheless, such progress has been made that the editors feel justified in offering the Review to the public, even in the midst of a war year. Whereas the writer necessarily had charge of the project up to the time of the Cincinnati meeting, it has been the Chairman of the Committee on Organization who has directed everything done since. A summary of the achievements of the Committee on Organization, in accordance with the powers granted it, is herewith presented.

It was hoped that an endowment of ten thousand dollars might be procured, but it early became clear that the Review could not

<sup>3</sup> The minutes of the meeting were published in *A Californian* (C. E. Chapman) in *South America*, ed. by Herbert I. Prestley (Berkeley, 1917), pp. 51-59.

compete with Red Cross work, the Y. M. C. A., Liberty Bonds, and the numerous other philanthropic and patriotic interests engendered by the war. Nothing could have been done, had it not been for the generosity of the Castilian-born Mr. J. C. Cebrián, for forty-seven years a resident of San Francisco, and a citizen of the United States, who subscribed and paid in the sum of \$2500. The following gentlemen have also subscribed sums aggregating \$1175: Robert Alter, Cincinnati; Charles E. Chapman, University of California; C. L. Chandler, Chattanooga; Charles H. Cunningham, Texas; C. W. Hackett, University of California; Hayden Harris, New York; C. H. Hull, Cornell University; P. A. Martin, Leland Stanford Junior University; W. S. Robertson, University of Illinois; W. R. Shepherd, Columbia University; Willard Straight, New York; Mr. Frederic Archer Upton, head of the oldest United States business house in Brazil, 100 years old; D. B. Wentz, Philadelphia. Most of them have already turned over the amounts opposite their names. The Review begins, therefore, with an endowment of \$3675—not so much as the editors would like, but representing a safe margin until such time as subscriptions and further contributions shall make up a more substantial sum. All funds as received from guarantors were held in trust by Mr. Waldo G. Leland, Secretary of the American Historical Association. A number of individuals and institutions have already announced their intention of subscribing for the Review.

The question of a name for the periodical was the subject of much discussion. There was a general agreement on the use of the words "American" and "Historical", and the word "Review" was almost equally favored over "Journal" or "Magazine". Finally, the matter was narrowed down to a consideration of the terms "Hispanic" and "Latin". By a vote of six to one, with two not voting, the name *Hispanic American Historical Review* was at length chosen. The reasons for the choice of the word "Hispanic" are best expressed in the words of Mr. Cebrián, the principal guarantor of the Review:

An initial error, followed by thoughtless routine, has caused many people to believe that "Hispanic" means "pertaining to Spain", where-

as its true meaning is "pertaining to Spain and Portugal". Hispania was from the beginning, and always has been, the name of the whole peninsula. The Romans divided Hispania into *Tarraconensis* and *Betica*; Augustus subdivided the latter into *Betica* and *Lusitania*; later, there were five provinces, but Hispania was the name of the whole. During the Middle Ages there were several kingdoms, one of which came to be Portugal, but the name Hispania was retained in European literature. The Greek name *Iberia* might also be applied, but with less justice than Hispania, since *Iberia* extended into France, while Hispania was restricted to the peninsula. On the other hand, the term "Latin" means "pertaining to France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal". It is a fact that neither France nor Italy discovered, settled, or civilized the lands south of the United States. Spain and Portugal, unaided by the other Latin countries, fashioned the new world after their own image. The few spots where Danish, Dutch, or French is spoken, in the West Indian Islands, are negligible quantities compared with the huge mainland areas. The few thousand negroes and negroids who spoil the French language in Hayti can hardly be considered Latin. Furthermore their land was originally and for many years under Spanish control. If we choose to call the southern peoples "Latin" because their language is derived from the Latin, then we ought to call the North Americans "Teutonic"; indeed, there is much more German, Scandinavian, and Dutch blood in the United States and Canada than there is French and Italian blood in the other Americas. The world very wisely has *not* adopted "Teutonic America" for the United States and Canada, and in like manner it should not employ "Latin America" for the countries which are not Latin but Hispanic. The term "Latin America", with its fourfold implication, is ambiguous, misleading, and unscientific, while "Hispanic America", with its twofold significance, is unambiguous, complete, truthful, scientific, and just.

The Committee on Organization felt that the proposal of Doctor W. S. Robertson and the writer as expanded by the latter in his talk at Cincinnati adequately expressed the initial editorial policy of the Review. Provision was made for a board of editors of six members, one of whom was to be the managing editor. The managing editor was to be elected by the board and was to retain his post permanently or until a successor should be chosen by a majority (four members) of the board. In the case of the first board, lots were to be drawn by the five members other than

the managing editor for terms of respectively one, two, three, four, and five years. Thereafter, the editors chosen were to serve for five years. Thus one member was to be elected each year. It was agreed that members of the board might stand for re-election, although it was deemed probable that most of them would not do so. Except in the case of the first board (to be chosen as hereinafter stated), new members were to be elected by a vote of a majority, exclusive of the retiring members (three out of five). Legal title was vested in the board of editors, who were to pledge themselves to carry on the affairs of the periodical in a way which seemed to them conducive of the best results for the men in this country engaged in the field of Hispanic-American history. The managing editor and the other members of the board were to make any further provision for the conduct of the Review which they might deem to be necessary or proper. In addition, a board of consulting editors was arranged for. Two were to be chosen at the outset (as hereinafter stated) and others were to be added whenever the active board of editors should so decide. The office was to be an honorary one for men who had greatly distinguished themselves in the Hispanic-American field, but who were unable to devote their time to the publication of the Review. They were to be consulted by the active board on matters of importance, and their suggestions were to be received at all times with due respect and attention.

While the Review was not published as early as January, 1918, no objection was made by members of the two committees or by the guarantors to a later start. In any event, February was deemed a better month in which to begin, because it would mean that the subscribers might receive the Review in a different month from those in which the other leading history quarterlies arrive, besides which it would enable the complete volume to coincide with a given year. On account of the war some favored a long postponement of publication, but it was at length decided to issue the first number under date of February, 1918. It was agreed that the managing editor should receive a salary of one thousand dollars a year. There were to be no other salaried officers and no allowances for traveling expenses, but all inci-



dental expenses for necessary office supplies, etc., were to be met from the funds of the Review. Articles and other matter were to be paid for at the rate of two dollars a printed page.

Finally, the Committee on Organization agreed that the Committee on Nominations should not only nominate the first Board of Editors (active and consulting), but that election should be determined by the mere fact of acceptance of the nomination. On December 2, 1917, the Chairman of the Committee on Organization (who was at that time in California) wrote to the Chairman of the Committee on Nominations announcing the posts for which names were desired. The report of the latter committee was made at a meeting of those interested in the new Review, which was held at Philadelphia (December 29) during the annual conference of the American Historical Association, and was as follows:

On notification from the Committee on Organization that the Committee on Nominations was desired to name a Board of six editors and two Advisory Editors, the Committee on Nominations reports as follows:

*Board of Editors:* Charles E. Chapman, Isaac J. Cox, Julius Klein, William R. Manning, James A. Robertson, and William Spence Robertson.

*Advisory Editors:* Herbert E. Bolton, and William R. Shepherd.

J. F. JAMESON,

[SIGNED] JUSTIN H. SMITH,

FREDERICK J. TURNER.

On motion duly seconded, the report of the Committee on Nominations was adopted as read, and the secretary of the meeting (the Chairman of the Committee on Organization), by virtue of the double authority vested in him, informed the nominees of the action of the Committee on Nominations, it being understood that election to the positions covered by the nominations should be contingent on the acceptance of said nominations. Upon the acceptance of the nominations by the several nominees, the Committee on Nominations, in accordance with the terms of its appointment, ceased to exist.

The Committee on Organization, acting through its chairman, contracted with the Waverly Press of Baltimore to publish the

Review, and the material for the first number was, accordingly, sent to the said company. At the meeting in Philadelphia above-mentioned, a brief report was made of the operations of the Committee on Organization by its chairman. On vote of the Board, Doctor James A. Robertson was (in February) elected managing editor. With this, it may fairly be said that the HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW had become definitely established. While it is probable that reports will be given from time to time with regard to its inner progress, that is a matter that lies in the decision of the managing editor and the board.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

## APPENDIX

### *Excerpts from letters to Charles E. Chapman in December, 1916.<sup>4</sup>*

"I am glad to hear that a plan is on foot to found an Ibero-American Historical Review. Aside from the service which such a Review can render to students of history in the United States, it also will serve to arouse a deeper interest in the development of Latin-American countries and will serve as a means of fostering closer intellectual and cultural ties with these countries. The founding of such a Review will, I am certain, be received with great satisfaction throughout the countries of Latin America."—L. S. Rowe, University of Pennsylvania. The testimony of a man so highly esteemed in South America as Professor Rowe is decidedly worthy of consideration.

---

"The project seems to me extremely desirable and I shall be glad to coöperate in any way in helping make it a success."—Hiram Bingham, Yale University. Professor Bingham went on to say that he himself had proposed a similar project a few years ago.

---

"Needless to say I am heartily in favor of the plan of launching an Ibero-American Historical Review. I have long been convinced of the desirability of such a publication and the present time seems particularly opportune for making the venture. I shall be glad to further the plan

<sup>4</sup> In the circular letter sent out by the writer the terms 'Ibero-American Historical Review' and 'Latin America' were used. This helps to account for their employment in many of the replies.

in every possible way, even to the lending of a certain amount of financial assistance.”—P. A. Martin, Leland Stanford Junior University. This letter is inserted as characteristic of the enthusiasm with which the project was received by the younger men in the Hispanic-American group of our historians. It will be noticed that Doctor Martin’s name appears in the list of donors to the Review.

---

“I believe in the project for the *Ibero-American Historical Review*, and feel sure that if it is properly planned, manned, and supported, it will be a great force in the development of the vast field of Spanish-American history which is so insistently claiming the attention of American scholars. What is most needed now is a good journal, to serve as a focal point for the interests of all students in the field, European, Anglo-American, and Latin-American. It should provide a place for articles, reviews, news, notes, documents, and, especially, bibliographical and archival lists.”—Herbert E. Bolton, University of California. The need and the function could hardly be stated more clearly than this.

---

“I want to support the idea enthusiastically. Any means of forming a bond of sympathy between the history people of the two continents ought to have wholesome backing from North American students. Our men here like the idea. Professors Bolton and Stephens have already written to you, but let me assure you that some of the younger men [naming five] join with me in hoping for the enterprise a prompt and successful initiation.”—Herbert I. Priestley, University of California. This letter is inserted to call attention to the fact that there are a number of younger men in the country writing masters’ and doctors’ theses, some of whose work would occasionally merit inclusion in the Review. This means help to the Review and encouragement to students.

---

“To say that the project to found an ‘Ibero-American Historical Review’ interests me is putting the case mildly . . . . The scope might well be extended so as to embrace the history and institutions of Spain and Portugal. Indeed it might be broadened enough to provide a field of study for contemporaneous Spain, Portugal and Latin America, affording space, not only for articles on present-day conditions, political, social, economic, and intellectual, but for a record of current events, and for lists and reviews of works dealing with the various themes, both

of the last two items in particular being very difficult to find. My idea in brief, then, would be to have the new journal represent Spain, Portugal and their national descendants in America to the educated English-speaking world, to serve as a sort of intellectual clearing-house, in a way no existing periodical does. It ought to describe them not only as they have been, but as they are. . . . So far as I am aware, periodicals printed in English and dealing with Latin America are not only silent about Spain and Portugal, but they give scant heed to the history and institutions of the Latin-American countries themselves. . . . We need in this country an agency of information which will supply both to the student and to the general reader items that will awaken interest and hold it.”—William R. Shepherd, Columbia University. The above is only one of a number of letters since written by Professor Shepherd in which the most helpful suggestions are made and emphasis is placed on the importance of founding the proposed Review. The following excerpt from one of them, coming as it does from such an authority as Professor Shepherd, is particularly worthy of presentation. “No area on earth is likely to have a more conspicuous place in the international affairs of mankind than that of the twenty southern republics; and no foreign power can have a more immediate interest in them than the United States.” It is with regret that the writer feels unable to insert more of Professor Shepherd’s words on the subject, for they constitute, he believes, the strongest argument he has seen of the need for the new Review. It may also be pointed out that Professor Shepherd’s name appears in the list of donors to the Review.

---

“This project is a very interesting one, and it may be that I will be able to be of some assistance to you when it is finally formulated.”—Willard Straight, New York City. Mr. Straight has generously subscribed five hundred dollars.

---

“I am naturally interested in the proposed publication referred to . . . I should be glad to learn more of your plan if, as I imagine, it has in some measure taken form.”—Archer M. Huntington. At the time, the project could hardly be said to have taken form. It is now an accomplished fact.

---

“It is impossible for the Pan American Union, or for myself as its head and, therefore, an international officer, to endorse any project

whatever. . . . I can say however, that the general idea which you outline of a quarterly interests me, and, speaking from hasty judgment, I think it is a field which would be appreciated by a considerable constituency. If you go ahead towards the realization of your plan, I am quite sure that all of us connected with the Pan American Union will be glad to give you such aid as we consistently can. . . . I want to see you succeed.”—John Barrett, Pan American Union.

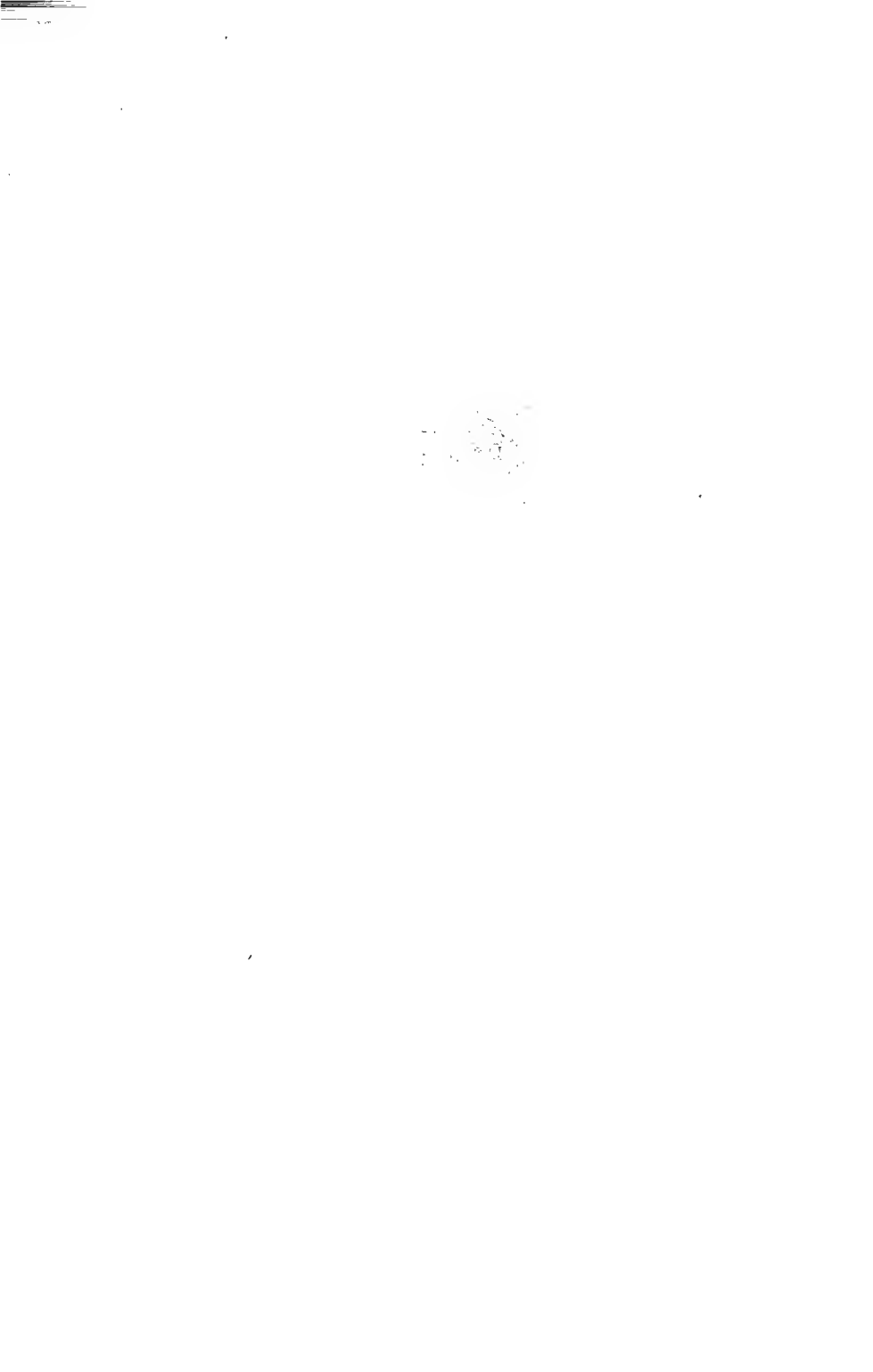
---

“Such an enterprise, in my opinion, would surely contribute substantially to improve Latin-American relations with the United States by affording a common vehicle for the publication of historical articles and discussions in which all the peoples of America have an interest. It is gratifying to learn that many Latin American scholars have already given assurances of support, and I have no doubt of the success of this quarterly when once launched.”—W. G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury.

---

The following letter to Doctor James A. Robertson dated June 2, 1917, may also be inserted: “It gives me pleasure to inform you that I have read with great interest the minutes of a conference on the foundation of a Journal of Latin-American History, held at Cincinnati, December 29, 1916, and wish to say to you that I believe that a Journal of Latin-American History would be of great benefit, both to the scholars of this country and to those of Latin America. It would also serve the purpose for which all of us have been striving both in the past, and, particularly, in the present, namely the foundation of closer relationship between all of the Americas.”—Robert Lansing, Secretary of State. A letter of the writer to Mr. Lansing was mislaid. It is interesting to observe that the Secretary of State wrote, some six months afterward, when the writer’s letter was discovered, that he would be glad to speak a word for the Review, if it were not too late. The above document was the result. It is also worth while to note that Mr. McAdoo and Mr. Lansing were the only United States officials who were asked to make a statement with regard to the project—with the exception of President Wilson. The letter of our president, published elsewhere in this number, is enough in itself to justify the appearance of the Review and to entitle it to the encouragement and support of high-minded Americans.









THE AMERICAN CONGRESS OF  
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND  
HISTORY AT BUENOS AIRES

BY  
CHARLES E. CHAPMAN

COMPLIMENTS OF  
CHARLES E. CHAPMAN

REPRINTED FROM THE

*American Historical Review*

VOL. XXII., NO. 1

OCTOBER, 1916



## THE AMERICAN CONGRESS OF BIBLIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY AT BUENOS AIRES

ON July 9, 1816, a formal declaration of independence of the Spanish colonies of the Rio de la Plata was made, by a congress in session at Tucumán. In consequence, a series of celebrations was organized in Argentina for the month of July, 1916, in honor of the one hundredth anniversary of the declaration of Tucumán, and as part of the programme a number of congresses, embracing a variety of subjects, such as the congress "of the child", that of social science, and many others, were held. One of these congresses was the one with which it is proposed to deal in this article.

It is open to question whether any other congress of the centenary accomplished more of real value than did the American Congress of Bibliography and History. Its success was due in large measure to the untiring efforts through two years of the organizer of the congress, Dr. Nicanor Sarmiento, member of the distinguished family of the former president of that name, and to the extremely efficient direction of the congress by its presiding officer, Dr. David Peña, founder of the Ateneo Nacional of the Argentine Republic, and one of the leading intellectual luminaries of South America. Of no small importance, too, was the fact that the congress held its meetings at the Ateneo Nacional in Buenos Aires, instead of going to Tucumán, thus being free to devote its time to business, rather than to the round of ceremonies which formed a delightful, but somewhat too diverting, feature of the exercises at Tucumán. The congress began its sessions on July 5, and, except for July 9, met every day, often morning, afternoon, and night, until July 14, a supplementary meeting taking place the night of July 18. One day was given over to an excursion to the city of La Plata, but all the other meetings were confined to business. Historical and bibliographical papers were not read in open session, but were referred respectively to two committees, and summaries only were submitted to the congress. Thus a vast amount of time was saved, which was utilized to the full, for the business proper of the congress.

The congress was attended by 225 delegates representing institutions in almost every country of the Americas. As was to be expected, however, the greater number came from Argentina. The delegates represented a wide variety of interests, not only historians proper but also bibliographers, librarians, teachers, and men who

were none of these, but who were interested in the subject-matter, being among those in attendance. National delegates were present from Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Paraguay, Peru, San Salvador, Spain, and Uruguay. The writer of this article was formal representative of the University of California, but was accorded the privileges and recognition of a national delegate. During the greater part of the meetings he was the only North American present, but in the closing days of the congress, Dr. William S. Robertson, whose boat was late, arrived as representative of the University of Illinois. It was unfortunate that more North Americans could not have been present, although the writer feels justified in saying that the mere presence of one, and at length two, was not without its effect in the deliberations of the sessions. Other North American universities which signified their adhesion to the congress were the following: Cornell, Chicago, Harvard, Louisiana, Minnesota, Tulane, and Yale. The following institutions did likewise: Academy of Political Science of Philadelphia, American Association for International Peace, American Historical Association, Library of Congress, Pan-American Union, and Smithsonian Institution.

The most important business concerned the organization of the congress as a permanent body, and the founding of a bibliographical institute, both measures being prepared by a special committee of which the writer was a member. A permanent council of the congress was established, and provision was made for a meeting of the congress at least once every three years, although the intention is that it shall take place every year. The next meeting is to be held at Montevideo on August 16, 1917, that date being the national holiday of the Republic of Uruguay. The founding of the Institute calls for more extended comment.

The American Institute of Bibliography was founded, and the Ateneo Nacional of Buenos Aires was named the central and directing body, that society having already accumulated a considerable fund for this very purpose. It aims to get together the most ample data concerning books and articles about the Americas or by citizens of any of the American republics, and to supply such information, at moderate prices, to any who may desire it. The central institution plans to publish a monthly bibliographical review, charging from 12 to 15 pesos (\$5 or \$6) for an annual subscription. It also proposes to edit works, publish documents, make translations of notable works, prepare catalogues and guides of archives, and acquire and exchange books. It was decided to recommend to the

governments and important intellectual societies of the Americas that local bibliographical institutes be founded, subordinate in a measure to the Ateneo Nacional of the Argentine Republic, with a view to uniformity of objects and methods, the subordinate institutes maintaining correspondence with the central institute. Dr. David Peña was named president of the Institute of the Ateneo Nacional.

Although the programme of the Institute is exceedingly broad, the writer is confident that a practical result of value to North American students may be obtained. This opinion he bases on the exceptional executive ability and scholarship of Dr. Peña, and on the beginning that has already been made by the Ateneo Nacional on its own account.

Of the other business of the congress the following resolutions embodied what is perhaps of most interest to North American scholars :

That the bibliographical reviews now in existence and those which may be founded be urged to publish descriptions of archives of the Americas, indicating the principal divisions of documents, their state of preservation, the means facilitated for their use, and any further information of service to the investigator.

That the national and local governments of the Americas be urged to publish documents concerning the history of the two continents, and the catalogues of their archives, sending a copy of such publications to the bibliographical institute of the Ateneo Nacional of the Argentine Republic.

That steps be taken to urge the publication of national bibliographies on a similar plan, with a view to an eventual bibliography of the Americas. (The scholarly proposer of this resolution, Señor Díaz Pérez, chief of the Biblioteca Nacional of Asunción, has already prepared a select bibliography for Paraguay which will shortly be published.)

That, with a view to a broader mutual understanding between the various countries of the Americas, the congress declares itself in favor of an exchange of professors between North America (the United States) and the Latin American countries, and of the latter among themselves; and of a formal exchange of students between the said countries.

That institutions be urged to send copies of their publications to the Ateneo Nacional of Buenos Aires, and to exchange publications among themselves.

That, in the same manner, the exchange of bibliographical catalogues, whether in book form or in pamphlet, be encouraged.

That a special prize be awarded for the best bibliographical work presented at each succeeding meeting of the congress.

That the proceedings of the present congress be compiled and published in book form. It is planned to include in this volume some of the shorter bibliographical and historical articles of outstanding merit among the many presented to the congress.

In connection with the congress, throughout the sessions, there was an exposition "of the book". Many institutions, including some from North America, sent works for this exposition. Three were specially noteworthy for their amplitude and value, those of the University of Córdoba (Argentina), the Biblioteca Nacional of Asunción, and the private collection of Señor Corbacho of Lima. The last-named consisted of manuscripts from the period of the *conquistadores* to the end of Spanish rule, a truly extraordinary and voluminous collection; and if there are many more of the same type in Lima, that city ought to become an attractive centre for the investigator who goes to the sources.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.













